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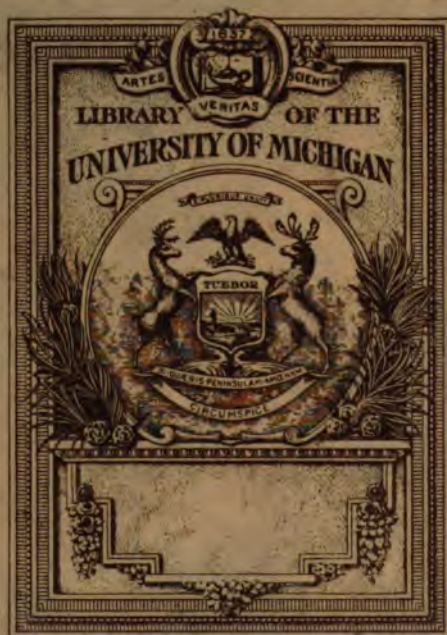
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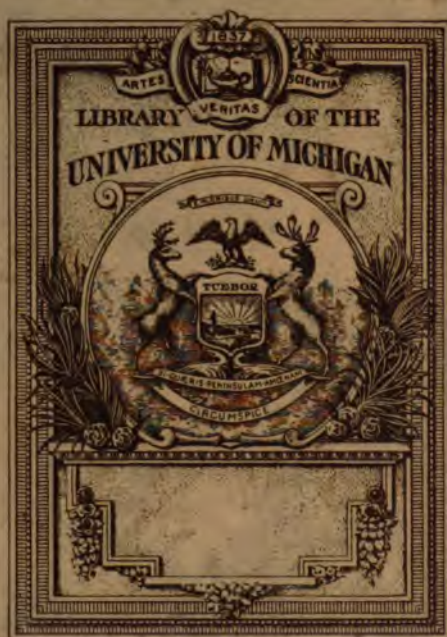
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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VOLUME THE NINTH.

1877-78.

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1878.

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FREDERICK YOUNG,
Honorary Secretary.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,
15, Strand, W.C.,
July, 1878.

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15, STRAND, LONDON.

ESTABLISHED 1863.

MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

OBJECTS.

"To provide a place of meeting for all Gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character." (Rule I.)

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FREDERICK YOUNG, *Hon. Sec.*

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LIST OF FELLOWS.

(Those marked * are Honorary Fellows.)

(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

Year of
Election.

RESIDENT FELLOWS.

1872	ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1875	ACTON, ROGER, 11, Crescent Place, Mornington Crescent, N.W.
1874	ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 8, Porchester Gate, W.
1868	†AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Airlie Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W., and Brookes' Club, S.W.
1872	ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 22, Somerset Street, Portman Square, W.
1877	ALEXANDER, JOHN CASSELS, 49, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
1875	†ANDERSON, EDWARD R., care of Messrs. Cargill, Joachim & Co., 28, Cornhill, E.C.
1874	ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
1876	ANNAND, WILLIAM, Agent-General for Canada, 81, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
1878	ARBUTHNOT, LIEUT.-COLONEL G., R.A., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W.
1868	ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.
1876	ARNEY, SIR GEORGE A., Hanover Square Club, W.
1874	ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S. W., and 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
1874	ATKINSON, CHARLES E., Algoa Lodge, Beckenham, Kent.
1872	BADENOCH, REV. DR. G. R., Clarence Chambers, 12, Haymarket, S.W.
1878	BALFOUR, JOHN, 18, Queen's Gate Place, S.W.
1874	BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C.
1874	BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., BT., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
1877	BARKLY, SIR HENRY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., 20, Roland Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
1868	BARR, E.G., 76, Holland Park, Kensington, W.

Year of Election.	
1870	BEDINGFELD, FELIX, C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1869	BEER, JULIUS, 27, Portland Place, W.
1876	BEETON, H. C., 2, Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.
1878	BELL, JOHN, 5, East India Avenue, E.C.
1878	BELL, WM. MOORE, Bolton Hall, near Wigton, Cumberland.
1874	BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 89, Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W.
1868	BENNETT, C. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.
1869	BERGTHEIL, J., 88, Warwick Road, Maida Hill, W.
1868	BIRCH, A. N., C.M.G., Bank of England, Burlington Gardens, W.
1878	BISCHOFF, CHARLES, 28, Westbourne Square, W.
1868	BLACHFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G.; Athenæum Club, S.W.; and Blachford, Ivybridge, Devon.
1868	BLAINE, D.P., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
1868	BLAINE, HENRY, 11, Gledhow Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
1877	BLYTH, SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
1878	BONWICK, JAMES, 8, Villesworth Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.
1878	BOOKER, JOSIAS, Wessington Court, Ledbury.
1872	BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.
1868	BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
1869	BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1878	BRASSEY, THOMAS, M.P., 24, Park Lane, W.
1869	BRIGGS, THOMAS, Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.
1869	BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.
1874	BROGDEN, JAMES, Seabank House, Portcawl, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire.
1869	BROWN, J. B., F.R.G.S., 90, Cannon Street, E.C. & Bromley, Kent.
1876	BROWNE, COLONEL SIR T. GORE, K.C.M.G., C.B., 7, Kensington Square, W.
1877	BROWNING, S. B., 88, Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, W.
1868	BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, G.C.S.I. (Governor of Madras).
1878	BUGLE, MICHAEL, Kaietur, Hollington Park, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1871	BURGESS, EDWARD J., 81, Palmerston Buildings, E.C.
1872	BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill Street, Hanover Square, W.
1868	BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate, S.W.
1875	BUTTERWORTH, ROBERT L., 70, Basinghall Street, E.C.
1878	BUXTON, SIR FOWELL, BART., 14, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
1874	BYL, P. G. VANDER (Consul-General for Orange Free State Republic), care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie & Co., 9, Idol Lane, E.C.

Year of
Election.

- 1869 CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Princes Street, E.C.,
and Buscot Park, Berkshire.
- 1868 CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.
- 1877 CARGILL, EDWARD BOWES, 28, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1868 †CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 7, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
- 1868 CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Bruton Street,
Berkeley Square, W.
- 1875 CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1876 CARVILL, P. G., J.P., Benvenue, Rosstrevor, Co. Down; 28, Park
Crescent; and Reform Club, S.W.
- 1868 CAVE, THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN, M.P., 85, Wilton Place, S.W.
- 1868 CHALLIS, J. H., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1877 CHAMPION, CAPTAIN P. R., R.M.L.I., Royal Marine Barracks, Chatham.
- 1872 CHESSON, F. W., 172, Lambeth Road, S.E.
- 1868 CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, C.E., M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens,
S.W.
- 1878 CHOWN, T. C., 29, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, and Thatched
House Club, S.W.
- 1868 CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. THE PRINCE, K.G., Cumberland Lodge, Windsor
Great Park.
- 1869 CHURCHILL, LORD ALFRED SPENCER, 16, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- 1872 CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.
- 1878 CLARK, JAMES MCCOSH, 87, Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1875 †CLARKE, HYDE, D.C.L., 82, St. George's Square, S.W.
- 1877 CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E. (Messrs. Roby & Co.), Lincoln.
- 1868 CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.
- 1874 CLOETE, WOODBINE, 8, Clement's Lane, E.C., and St. Stephen's
Club, Westminster, S.W.
- 1872 COLOMB, CAPTAIN J. C. R., R.M.A., Droumquinna, Kenmare, County
Kerry, Ireland, and Junior United Service Club, Charles
Street, S.W.
- 1869 COLTHURST, J.B., 4, Danes Inn, Strand, W.C.
- 1876 COODE, SIR JOHN, 85, Norfolk Square, W., and 2, Westminster
Chambers, S.W.
- 1874 †COODE, M. P. (Secunderabad, Madras Presidency, India).
- 1874 COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART, 6, De Vere Gardens, Kensington Palace, W.
- 1874 *CORVO, H. E. SUR JOAO ANDRADA, Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Portugal.
- 1874 COSENS, FREDERICK W., 16, Water Lane, Tower Street, E.C.
- 1872 CRANBROOK, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 17, Grosvenor Crescent,
and India Office, S.W.
- 1878 †CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 6, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.

Year of
Election.

- 1869 CROLL, ALEXANDER, Mavas Bank, Grange Road, Upper Norwood.
 1869 CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, 10, Coleman Street, E.C., and
 Granard Lodge, Roehampton.
 1876 CROSSMAN, COLONEL W., R.E., C.M.G., 80, Harcourt Terrace,
 Redcliffe Square, S.W., and Junior United Service Club.
 1874 CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1878 CURLING, GEORGE S., 89, Grosvenor Street, W.
 1874 CURRIE, DONALD, C.M.G., 18, Hyde Park Place, W.
 1877 CURREY, ELIOTT S., M.L.C.E., 17, Bruton Street, Berkeley
 Square, W.
 1875 CURWEN, REV. E. H., Plumblond Rectory, Carlisle.
 1875 CURWEN, REV. A. J., Harrington Rectory, Cumberland.
 1868 DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1872 DAUBENEY, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR H. C. B., K.C.B., 86, Elvaston
 Place, S.W.
 1878 DAVIS, STEUART S., Spencer House, Knyverton Road, Bourne-
 mouth.
 1876 DEVERELL, W. T., City Liberal Club, Walbrook, E.C.
 1878 DODGSON, WILLIAM OLIVER, Manor House, Sevenoaks.
 1878 DOMVILLE, MAJOR-GENERAL J. W., R.A., Rushgrove House,
 Woolwich, S.E.
 1871 DOUGLAS, STEWART, 49, Elizabeth Street, Eaton Square, S.W.
 1878 DOYLE, GENERAL SIR HASTINGS, K.C.M.G., 18, Bolton Street, W.
 1875 DU CANE, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., Braxted Park, Witham, Essex.
 1868 †DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Portman Square, W.
 1868 DU-CROZ, F. A., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1868 DUDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.
 1868 DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.
 1878 DUFFIELD, ALEXANDER J., Savile Club, Savile Row, W.
 1872 DUNCAN, MAJOR F., M.A., D.C.L., Royal Artillery, Woolwich.
 1869 DUNCAN, WILLIAM, 88, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1872 DUNN, JAMES A., 47, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
 1878 †DUNRAVEN, THE RIGHT HON THE EARL OF, K.P., Coombe Wood,
 Kingston-on-Thames, and White's Club, S.W.
 1874 DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 8, St. Mary
 Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
 1876 DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 81, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
 1872 DUTTON, F. H., 11, Cromwell Crescent, South Kensington, S.W.
 1876 †EDWARDS, STANLEY, care of J. C. Palmer, Esq., Charlwood Lodge,
 Charlwood Road, Putney, S.W.

Year of
Election

- 1869 ELCHO, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, M.P., 28, St. James's Place, St. James's, S.W.
- 1872 ELDER, ALEXANDER LIANG, Campden House, Kensington, W.
- 1875 ELLIOT, ROBERT H., 88, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso, Roxburghshire, N.B.
- 1874 ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place, W.C.
- 1872 FAIRFAX, T. S., Newtown, St. Boswell's, N.B., and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1869 FANNING, WM. BOZEDOWN, Whitchurch, Reading.
- 1878 FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.
- 1878 FASS, A., 18, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
- 1878 †FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C.
- 1875 FERGUSSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G., 24, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.; Carlton Club; and Kilkerran, N.B.
- 1876 FISHER, JAMES, Conservative Club, S.W.
- 1876 FOCKING, ADOLPHUS, 106, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1878 FOORD, B. J., 18, Burlington Road, Bayswater, W.
- 1876 FORSTER, ANTHONY, 5, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1875 FORSTER, THE RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P., 80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
- 1868 FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY, 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
- 1870 †FREELAND, HUMPHRY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum Club; and Chichester.
- 1875 FREE, GEORGE, 16, Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1868 FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.
- 1872 *FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- 1869 †GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
- 1874 GAWLER, COLONEL J. C. (late 78rd Foot), Tower, E.C.
- 1878 GIDDY, R. W. H., Langley House, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1875 GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 81, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- 1869 GODSON, GEORGE R., 8, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1878 GOODE CHARLES, H., 115, King Henry Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- 1876 GOODWIN, REV. R., Hildersham Rectory, Cambridge.
- 1869 GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.
- 1868 GRAIN, WILLIAM, 50, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1869 GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., 18, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
- 1877 †GREATHEAD, JAMES HENRY, C.E., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1872 GREAVES, EDWARD, Watchbury House, Barford, near Warwick.
 1876 GREENE, FREDERICK, 142, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1874 GREEN, GEORGE, Glanton House, Sydenham Rise, S.E.
 1868 GREGORY, CHARLES HUTTON, C.M.G., 2, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.
 1876 GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, 57, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.
 1877 GRIFFITHS, MAJOR ARTHUR, Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1878 GUTHRIE, CHARLES, London Chartered Bank of Australia, 88, Cannon Street, E.C.
 1874 GWYNNE, FRANK A., 15, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W., Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.
 1876 HALIBURTON, A. L., 2, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
 1878 HALL, ARTHUR, 85, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
 1875 HALL, HENRY, 4, Glynde Terrace, Lavender Hill, S.W.
 1868 HAMILTON, ARCHIBALD, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 82, Charing Cross, S.W.
 1876 HANBURY, PHILIP CAPEL, 60, Lombard Street, and Windham Club, S.W.
 1878 HARBOTTLE, THOMAS, 78, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
 1868 HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1877 †HARRIS, WOLF, 14, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, W.
 1869 HAUGHTON, JOHN, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W.
 1878 HAY, WILLIAM, 19, York Street, Baker Street, W.
 1876 *HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G. (Colonial Museum, Wellington, New Zealand).
 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, Holyrood, Cleveland Road, Ealing.
 1868 HENTY, WILLIAM, 12, Medina Villas, Brighton.
 1877 HERRING, REV. A. STYLEMAN, B.A., 45, Colebrooke Row, N.
 1876 HILL, REV. JOHN G. H., M.A., 2, St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, N.W., and Quarley Rectory, Andover, Hants.
 1869 HILL, JOHN S., 82, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
 1868 HINCKS, CAPTAIN A. S., Junior United Service Club, S.W.
 1872 HODGSON, ARTHUR, Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1874 †HOGG, QUINTIN, 5, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.
 1875 HOLLINGS, H. DE B., M.A., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1869 HOUGHTON, LORD, M.A., D.C.L., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1876 †HOUSTOUN, G. L., Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.
 1869 IRWIN, J. V. H., 5, Alpha Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1877 ISAACS, MICHAEL BABEL, 85, Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.

Year of
Election.

- 1869 JAMESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1872 JAMESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1874 JOHNSTON, A. R. CAMPBELL, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., 84, St. George's Square, S.W., and Athenæum Club.
 1868 JONES, SIR WILLOUGHBY, BART., Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk.
 1877 JOSHUA, SAUL, 27, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
 1874 JOURDAIN, H. J., 54, Gloucester Gardens, W.
 1868 JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G. and C.B., Downing Street, S.W.
- 1876 KARUTH, FRANK, Oakhurst, The Knoll, Beckenham, Kent.
 1877 KENNEDY, JOHN MURRAY, Ardwick Hall, Manchester; Knockralling, Kirkcudbrightshire, N.B.; and New University Club, S.W.
 1874 KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1869 KING, HENRY S., 65, Cornhill, E.C.
 1869 †KINNAIRD, LORD, 2, Pall Mall East, S.W.
 1875 KNIGHT, A. H., 62, Holland Park, Kensington, W.
 1876 KNIGHT, JOSEPH J., Mera Lodge, Bexley Heath, Kent.
 1878 KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 1869 †LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C., and 5, Aldridge Road Villas, W.
 1878 LAING, DR. P. SINCLAIR, 7, Claverton Street, St. George's Square, S.W.
 1875 LIANDALE, ROBERT, Casmo House, Dulwich Hill, S.E.
 1877 LIANGWORTHY, JOHN L., Ellesmere, Putney Hill, S.W.
 1876 LIARDNER, W. G., 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W.
 1878 LARK, FRANCIS BOTHAMLEY, 9, Pembridge Place, Bayswater, W.
 1875 LAWRENCE, W. F., New University Club, St. James's Street.
 1877 LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER M., 17, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1878 LE CREN, HENRY JOHN, 107, St. George's Square, S.W.
 1878 LEISHMAN, HENRY A. TROWSWELL, Gondhurst, Kent.
 1869 LEVESON, EDWARD J., Cluny, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
 1874 LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W.
 1874 LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.
 1874 *LLOYD, SAMPSON S., M.P. (President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom), Moor Hall, Sutton; Coldfield, Warwickshire; and Carlton Club.
- 1876 LOUGHNAN, HENRY, 18, Powis Square, Bayswater.
 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, (Christchurch, New Zealand.)
 1877 LUBBOCK, NEVILLE, 16, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1871 LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1872 LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 8, Victoria Square, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1878 MACALISTER, ARTHUR, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), 82, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1869 MACARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.
- 1878 MACARTHUR, WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwyder Houses, Brixton, S.W.
- 1878 McCALMAN, ALLAN C., 10, Holland Park Terrace, W.
- 1874 MACCARTHY, JUSTIN, 48, Gower Street, W.C.
- 1878 †McCONNELL, JOHN, 65, Holland Park, W.
- 1868 McDONALD, H. C., Warwick House, South Norwood Park, S.E., and 116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1869 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER J., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1872 MACDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Athenæum Club.
- 1877 MACDOUGALL, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR PATRICK L., K.C.M.G. (commanding Her Majesty's Forces in British North America), Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1874 MACEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE, Old Swan Wharf, E.C., and 8, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W.
- 1878 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.
- 1869 MACFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W., and Dreghorn, Colinton, Edinburgh, N.B.
- 1874 McKERRELL, R. M., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 MACKILLOP, C. W., 14, Royal Crescent, Bath.
- 1869 MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.
- 1869 McLACHLAN, ARCHIBALD, Hatherley Hall, Cheltenham.
- 1872 MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1869 MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey, and Athenæum Club.
- 1875 †MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W.
- 1869 MAITLAND, WILLIAM, 2, Royal Exchange Buildings, E.C.
- 1878 MALCOLM, A. J., 27, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1869 MANBY, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, F.R.S., 24, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1868 †MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.P., 1, Great Stanhope Street, W., and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neots.
- 1878 MARCHANT, W. L., Crow's Nest, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1868 MARSH, M. H., Ramridge, Andover, Hants.
- 1877 MARSHALL, JOHN, F.R.G.S., Auckland Lodge, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1878 MASSEY, THOMAS, 56, Chancery Lane, W.C.
- 1875 MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1877 MAYNARD, H. W., St. Aubyn's, Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.
- 1875 MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin.
- 1872 MEREWETHER, F. S. S., Peacocks, Ingatestone, Essex.

Resident Fellows.

XV

Year of
Election.

- 1877 MERRY, WILLIAM L., Wool Exchange, Coleman Street, E.C.
 1877 METCALFE, FRANK E., Highfield, Hendon, N.
 1878 MEINERTZHAGAN, ERNEST LOUIS, Belmont, Wimbledon Common, S.W.
 1874 MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W.
 1869 MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C.
 1868 MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C.
 1869 MONCK, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., Brooks' Club, S.W., and
 Charleville, Enniskerry, Wicklow.
 1869 MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset, and 51, St.
 George's Road, S.W.
 1869 MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 1, Oriental Place, Brighton.
 1877 MONTEFIORE, J. B., 96, Kensington Gardens Square, W.
 1877 MONTEFIORE, J. L., 5, Winchester Street, Old Broad Street, E.C.
 1878 MONTEFIORE, LESLIE J., 28, Hatherley Grove, Bayswater, W.
 1868 †MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
 1878 MOORE, WM. FREDK., 5, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington,
 S.W.
 1876 *MORGAN, HENRY J., Ottawa, Canada.
 1877 MORT, LAIDLAY, Endrick, Epsom, Surrey.
 1869 MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
 1875 MOSENTHAL, JULIUS DE, 1, Beer Lane, E.C.
 1875 MUIR, HUGH, 82, Lombard Street, E.C.
 1868 MUTTLERBURY, JAMES W., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W., and
 47, Leinster Gardens, W.
 1875 NAIRN, CHARLES J., Downside, Merrow, near Guildford, Surrey.
 1877 NATHAN, HON. HENRY (late M.L.C. British Columbia), 110, Ports-
 down Road, Maida Hill, W.
 1874 †NAZ, VIRGILE, C.M.G. (M.L.C. Mauritius), care of Messrs. Chalmers,
 Guthrie & Co. 9, Idol Lane, E.C.
 1875 NELSON, WILLIAM, 2, Jury Street, Warwick.
 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., The Grange, Totteridge, Herts, N.
 1868 NORTHOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., C.B., M.P.,
 11, Downing Street, S.W.
 1874 NUTT, R.W., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W., and Paris.
 1876 OHLSON, JAMES L., 9, Billiter Square, E.C.
 1875 OMMANEY, H. M.
 1875 O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH (Agent for Quebec), 81, Queen Victoria
 Street, E.C.
 1875 †OFFENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH, 52, Brown Street, Manchester.
 1872 OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, M.P., 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 1876 PALMER, HENRY POLLARD, 66, Dale Street, Port Street, Manchester.
 1875 PAGET, JOHN C., 79, Woodstock Road, Finsbury Park, N.
 1877 PARKINSON, THOMAS, Crossley Street, Halifax.
 1869 PATERSON, J., 7 and 8, Australian Avenue, E.C.
 1874 PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
 1876 PAYNE, EDWARD J., 181, Piccadilly, W.
 1877 PEACOCK, J. M., Clevedon, Addiscombe, Surrey.
 1878 †PEEK, CUTHBERT EDGAR, Wimbleton House, S.W.
 1875 PERCEVAL, AUGUSTUS G., Kinver, Bournemouth, Hants.
 1875 PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., 82, Avenue Road, Regent's
 Park, N.W.
 1875 PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 8, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
 1878 †PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., M.P., Leaside, Kingswood Road,
 Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1878 PLEWMAN, THOMAS, 69, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
 1869 †POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Stockbridge, Hants.
 1875 PORTER, ROBERT, Westfield House, South Lyncombe, Bath.
 1874 POTTER, RICHARD, Standish House, Stonehouse, Gloucestershire.
 1878 PRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C., and Froggnall,
 Hampstead, N.W.
 1868 PRATT, J. J., Commissioner for the Transvaal, 79, Queen Street,
 Cheapside, E.C.
- 1878 PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 84, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
 1874 PUGH, W. R., M.D., 8, Fairfax Road, South Hampstead, N.W., and
 Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1875 PUNSHON, REV. DR. MORLEY, Tranby, Brixton Rise, S.W.
 1877 PURDY, WILLIAM, 54, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1871 QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham,
 S.W.
- 1868 RAE, JAMES, 82, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.
 1869 †RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.
 1876 RAE, JOHN, M.D., LL.D., 2, Addison Gardens South, Kensington, W.
 1878 RAHMAN, SYUD ABDUR, 6, Woburn Place, Russell Square, W.C.
 1872 RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings,
 Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Woldringfold, near Horsham.
 1878 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, Limber Magna, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.

Year of
Election.

- 1874 RICHMAN, H. J., 46, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
- 1868 RIDGWAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL A., 2, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1872 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, Brooklands, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1877 ROBB, JOHN, Oriental Bank, Threadneedle Street, E.C.
- 1869 ROGERS, ALEXANDER, 88, Clanricarde Gardens, W.
- 1877 ROGERS, COLIN, 9, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1878 ROSE, B. LANCASTER, 1, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1869 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., K.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C., and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1874 ROSS, HAMILTON, 22, Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1875 RUSSELL, G. GREY, care of Messrs. Russell, Le Cren, and Co., 37, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PHILIP, Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
- 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, Haremore Hall, Hurstgreen, Sussex.
- 1878 RUSSELL, THOMAS, C.M.G., 22, Palace Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1876 RYALL, R., 1, Guildhall Chambers, Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1874 ST. JEAN, LE VISCOMTE DE SATJE, Castel-Nou, Py-Or, France, and Raleigh Club.
- 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.
- 1872 SANJO, J., 7, Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
- 1868 SARGEAUNT, W. C., C.M.G., New Government Buildings, Downing Street, S.W.
- 1878 SASBOON, ARTHUR, 2, Albert Gate, S.W.
- 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 86, Sackville Street, W.
- 1869 †SCHWARTZE, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.
- 1872 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 12, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1868 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1871 SEROCOLD, G. PEARCE, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
- 1-74 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., 10, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
- 1868 †SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C.
- 1869 SIMMONDS, P. L., 29, Cheapside, E.C.
- 1877 SMITH, PHILIP T., 85, Kensington Gardens Square, W.
- 1878 SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.P. (First Lord of the Admiralty), Whitehall, S.W., and The Greenlands, Henley-on-Thames.
- 1874 SOPER, W. G., 10, King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, E.C.
- 1878 SPENCE, J. BERGER, F.R.G.S., &c., 81, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1874 SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C.
- 1875 STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W.
- 1872 STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1878 STEELE, WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, National Bank of New Zealand, 87, Lombard Street, E.C.

- 1868 STEPHENS, WILLIAM, 8, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.
 1868 STEVENS, JAMES, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1875 STEVENSON, L. C., Hall Place, Bexley.
 1874 †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART, Glorat, Milton of Campsie, N.B., and
 Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1878 STOKES, ROBERT (M.L.C. New Zealand), 1, Clanricarde Gardens,
 Bayswater.
 1877 STONE, F. W., B.C.L., 7, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
 1872 STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W.
 1875 STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 2, Cambridge Park Gardens, Twickenham,
 S.W., and 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
 1878 SUTHERLAND, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., Stafford House, St.
 James's, S.W.
 1869 SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM MANNERS, Arthur's Club, St. James's St., S.W.
 1868 SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
 1874 SWANZY, ANDREW, 122, Cannon Street, E.C., and Sevenoaks, Kent.
 1875 SYMONS, G. J., 62, Camden Square, N.W.
 1878 TAIT, SIR PETER, Southwark Street, S.E.
 1876 TAYLOR, CHARLES J., 86, Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1878 *TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., Haslemere, Surrey.
 1875 THOMSON, J.D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
 1877 THRUPP, LEONARD W., 10, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1869 TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 84, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1872 TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
 1875 TOOTH, FREDERICK, The Briars, Reigate, Surrey.
 1872 TORRENS, SIR ROBERT R., K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1874 TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W., and 41, Botolph
 Lane, E.C.
 1878 TURNBULL, ALEXANDER, 118, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.
 1878 †TURNBULL, WALTER, Moray House, Gipsy Hill, Norwood, S.E.
 1870 UNNA, FERDINAND, 12, Lancaster Gate, and 1, Coleman Street
 Buildings, Moorgate Street, E.C.
 1878 WALES, H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
 G.C.M.G., Marlborough House, S.W.
 1869 WALKER, EDWARD, 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.
 1878 WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Uplands, Taunton.
 1868 WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hildrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
 1877 WALLACE, HENRY RITCHIE COOPER, Busbie and Cloncaird Castle,
 Ayrshire, and 21, Magdala Crescent, Edinburgh.
 1875 WALLS, ANDREW M., 11, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1877 *WATSON, J. FORBES, M.A., M.D., LL.D., India Office, S.W.
 1869 WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham,

Resident Fellows.

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Year of
Election

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| 1870 | WELLINGS, HENRY, 44, Thistle Grove, Brompton, S.W. |
| 1877 | WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 117, Cannon Street, E.C. |
| 1875 | WESTERN, CHARLES, R., 1, Inverness Terrace, Bayswater, W. |
| 1868 | WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, St. Andrew's House, Change Alley, E.C.,
and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W. |
| 1878 | WHEELER, CHARLES, Woodhouse Lodge, Addlestone, Surrey. |
| 1878 | WHITE, ROBERT, Mildmay Chambers, 82, Bishopsgate Street Withir,
E.C. |
| 1877 | WHITEFORD, WILLIAM, 4, Elm Court, Temple, E.C. |
| 1876 | WHITEHEAD, HERBERT M., Conservative Club, St. James's Street,
S.W. |
| 1874 | WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N., and 26, Budge
Row, E.C. |
| 1874 | WILLIAMS, W. J., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W. |
| 1876 | WILSON, EDWARD D. J., Reform Club, S.W. |
| 1874 | WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., Arthur's Club, St. James's
Street, S.W. |
| 1878 | WOLFEN, AUGUSTUS, 8, Philpot Lane, E.C. |
| 1868 | WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W.,
and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants. |
| 1877 | WOOD, REV. ALBERT, M.A, D.C.L., The Rectory, South Reston,
near Louth, Lincolnshire. |
| 1878 | WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. |
| 1868 | WRAY, LEONARD, Wood End House, Walthamstow. |
| 1875 | YARDLEY, S., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W. |
| 1868 | YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W. |
| 1874 | YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., M.P., 55, Davies Street, Berkeley, Square, W.;
Reform Club, S.W.; and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks. |
| 1869 | †YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W. |

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of
Election.

- 1877 A'DEANE, JOHN, Ashcott, Napier, New Zealand.
 1878 ACKROYD, EDWARD JAMES, Substitute Master of the Supreme Court
 of Mauritius, Port Louis, Mauritius.
 1877 ADOLPHUS, EDWIN, Acting Colonial Secretary, Freetown, Sierra
 Leone, West Africa.
 1876 AKERMAN, J. W., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
 1872 ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.
 1878 †ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.
 1875 †ALLPORT, MORTON, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
 1878 AMRAY, P. ELICIO, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1878 ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.
 1876 ANDERSON, GEORGE, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1875 ANDERSON, W. J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 ANDREWS, WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1878 ARMYTAGE, GEORGE, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 1877 ARMYTAGE, FERDINAND F., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 1875 ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
 1876 ATHERSTONE, DR. GUYBON, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corre-
 sponding Secretary).
 1872 AULD, PATRICK, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1877 AUSTIN, THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PERCY, D.D., Lord Bishop of
 Guiana, Kingston House, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
 1877 ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS South Sea Islands.
 1878 BALL, FREDERICK A., Queen's Park, Toronto, Canada.
 1875 BARBER, A. H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1876 BALDWIN, CAPTAIN W., Chingford, Dunedin, New Zealand.
 1875 BAM, J. A., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1875 BARRY, HIS HONOUR SIR JACOB D., Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
 1875 BARTER, CHARLES, Verulam, Natal.
 1875 BAYNES, HON. EDWIN DONALD, C.M.G., President of Antigua, St.
 John's, Antigua, West Indies.
 1877 BAYNES, THOMAS, Antigua, West Indies.
 1875 BEAN, GEORGE T., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 BECKER, CHARLES J., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1878 BECKWITH, A. B., M.L.A., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1872 BEERE, D. M., Auckland, New Zealand.
 1877 BEETHAM, WILLIAM H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1877 BEIT, HENRY, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1878 BENNETT, GEORGE, M.D., Sydney, New South Wales.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 BERKELEY, HON. HENRY S., Acting Attorney-General for the Leeward Islands, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1877 BIRCH, A. S., Oruamatua, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1872 BIRCH, W. J., Lake Taupo, and Napier Club, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1878 BIRCH, W. J., JUN., Little Flaxmere, Hastings, New Zealand.
- 1877 BLACKWOOD, JAMES, Orring Road, near Melbourne, Australia.
- 1874 BLYTH, CAPTAIN, C.M.G., Chief Magistrate, Griqualand East, Cape Colony.
- 1878 BOOTHBY, JOSIAH, J.P., Under Secretary, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1874 BOURINOT, J. G., Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1878 BOUSFIELD, THE RIGHT REV. E. H., D.D., Lord Bishop of Pretoria, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1874 BOWEN, EDWARD, Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.
- 1877 BOWERBANK, T. Q., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1875 BOYD, JAMES, Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1878 BRADSTREET, ROBERT, Newcastle, Natal, South Africa.
- 1878 BRANDON, ALFRED DE BATHE, M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., Fairfield, Ruataniwha, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1874 BRODRIBB, W. A., Buckhurst, Double Bay, near Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1875 BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Hamilton, Ontario.
- 1874 BROWN, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., Queenstown, Cape Colony.
- 1872 BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.
- 1876 BRUCE, J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 BUCHANAN, ARCHIBALD B., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1877 BULLIVANT, WILLIAM HOSE, Longernoug, Victoria, Australia.
- 1869 BULWER, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G., Governor of Natal.
- 1876 BURGERS, HON. J. A., M.L.C., Murraysburg, Cape Colony.
- 1871 BURKE, SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, Assistant Attorney-General, Jamaica.
- 1873 BURNS, A., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1872 BUTLER, MAJOR W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).
- 1872 BUTTON, EDWARD, Lydenberg, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1878 CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 CAMPBELL, HON. C. J., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1878 CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.
- 1878 CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1872 CARON, ADOLPHE P., M.P., Quebec, Canada.
- 1878 CASEY, HON. J. J., M.P., 86, Temple Court, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 CATTANACH, A. J., Toronto, Canada.

Year of
Election.

- 1876 CHADWICK, F. M., Treasurer of Grenada, St. George's, Grenada,
West Indies.
- 1878 CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
- 1874 CHIAPPINI, Dr., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).
- 1876 †CHRISTIAN, H. B., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1868 CLARKE, COL. SIR ANDREW, R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B., Commissioner
of Public Works, Simla, India.
- 1875 CLOETE, HENRY, Barrister-at-Law, Alphen, Wynberg, Cape Colony.
- 1877 COCHRANE, JAMES, care of Messrs. R. Goldsborough & Co., Melbourne,
Australia.
- 1872 COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Hobart Town,
Tasmania.
- 1876 COLLINS, J. WRIGHT, Stanley, Falkland Islands.
- 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 CORNWALL, CLEMENT FRANCIS, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1869 CORNWALL, HENRY, Ashcroft, British Columbia.
- 1877 †COX, HON. GEORGE H., M.L.C., Mudgee, New South Wales.
- 1875 CRAWFORD, JAMES D., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 CRESWICK, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 CROOKES, HON. ADAM, M.P., Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 CROSBY, JAMES, Immigration Agent-General, Georgetown, Demerara,
West Indies.
- 1878 CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 CURRIE, JAMES, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1878 DALE, LANGHAM, M.A., LL.D., Superintendent-General of Educa-
tion, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 DANIEL, S. C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1874 DANGAR, W. J., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1878 DAVENPORT, GEORGE H., Headington Hill, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1877 DAVENPORT, SAMUEL, Beaumont, Adelaide, South Australia (Corre-
sponding Secretary).
- 1878 †DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Postmaster-General of British Guiana,
Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1876 †DAVIS, P., JUN., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 1874 DENISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T., Commanding the Governor-
General's Body Guard, Toronto, Canada.
- 1878 DOMVILLE, CAPTAIN JAMES, M.P., St. John, New Brunswick.
- 1874 DOUTRÉ, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 DOUGLAS, ARTHUR, Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Capo
Colony.

Year of
Election.

- 1869 DOYLE, SIR HENRY W. H., Kt., Chief Justice, Gibraltar.
- 1872 DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
Governor-General of Canada.
- 1869 †DUNKIN, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Judge of the Supreme Court for
Lower Canada, Knoulton, Quebec, Canada.
- 1876 †ELLIOTT, WILLIAM THOMAS, Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1878 EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada.
- 1878 EDWARDS, ARTHUR ELLIOTT, M.R.C.S.E., St. John's, Antigua,
West Indies.
- 1877 EDWARDS, HERBERT, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1874 †EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1874 ERSKINE, HON. MAJOR D., Ceres, Cape Colony.
- 1874 ESCOMBE, HARRY, Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1878 FAIRBAIRN, GEORGE, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 †FARMER, WM. MORTIMER MAYNARD, J.P., Maynard Villa, Wynberg,
Cape Colony.
- 1876 FALLON, J. T., Albury, New South Wales.
- 1877 FAUNTLEROY, ROBERT, J.P., Slipe Penn, Kingston, Jamaica
- 1878 FENWICK, FAIRFAX, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1876 FERARD, BINGHAM A., Napier, New Zealand.
- 1873 FIFE, G. R., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1876 FINLAYSON, J. H., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1877 FIRTH, HENRY ALOYSIUS, Emigration Agent for British Guiana,
8, Garden Road, Calcutta.
- 1878 FISCHER, C. F., M.D., F.L.S., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 FITZGERALD, HON. NICHOLAS, M.L.C., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1874 FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 38th Foot and 1st West India Regiment).
- 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., Town Clerk of Melbourne, Australia.
- 1869 FITZHERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New
Zealand.
- 1878 FLEMING, SANDFORD, C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the New-
foundland Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways,
Ottawa, Canada.
- 1875 FLOWER, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1869 FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 FORTESCUE, G., M.B., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 FOX, HON. WILLIAM, M.H.L., Crofton, Rangatekei, New Zealand.
- 1876 FRANCIS, HON. J. G., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1878 FYNNEY, F. B., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1878 FYSH, HON. P. O., M.H.A., Hobart Town, Tasmania.

Year of
Election.

- 1877 GARRAN, ANDREW, LL.D., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1868 GHINN, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
 1875 GIBBS, S. M., Colran Station, Murumbidgee, New South Wales.
 1876 †GILBERT, WILLIAM, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
 1877 GILMORE, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES T., Clerk of the Legislative
 Assembly of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.
 1869 †GILMORE, CAPTAIN G., Launceston, Tasmania.
 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, Manchester, Jamaica.
 1875 GOLLAN, DONALD, Mangatarata, Napier, New Zealand.
 1868 GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Heidelberg, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1869 GOODRICKE, D. G., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1869 GOODRICKE, J. R., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1876 GORDON, JOHN, Toronto, Canada.
 1878 GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1877 GRANT, THOMAS HUNTER, Sladacona Bank, Quebec, Canada.
 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BULLER, Riverina, New South Wales.
 1877 GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1875 GRIFFITH, T. RISELY, Treasurer of the Gold Coast Colony, Accra,
 West Africa.
 1877 GRIFFITH, HON. W. BRANDFORD, Auditor-General, Bridgetown,
 Barbadoes, West Indies.
 1875 GURNEY, FRANK, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1877 †GZOWSKI, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. S., Toronto, Canada.
 1874 HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.
 1872 HALIBURTON, R. G., Q.C., Ottawa, Canada.
 1878 HANCOCK, HON. HENRY J. BURFORD, Attorney-General of the Leeward
 Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
 1875 HARDY, O. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1875 HART, LIONEL, British Sherbro, West Africa.
 1878 HART, MONTAGU P., Yelbana, British Sherbro', West Africa.
 1878 HAZELL, HON. JOHN H., M.L.C., St. Vincent, West Indies.
 1876 HECHLER, REV. PROFESSOR W. H., Carlsruhe, Baden, Germany.
 1869 HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood
 House, London, Canada.
 1869 HENDERSON, JOSEPH, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
 1875 HENNESSY, HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN POPE, O.M.G., Governor of Hong
 Kong.
 1878 HETT, J. ROLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria,
 British Columbia.
 1875 HEWAT, CAPTAIN J., Superintendent Cape Town Docks, Cape of
 Good Hope.

- 1878 HIDDINGH, Dr. J., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.
 1878 HIGGETT, ANGLESEA, Melbourne, Australia.
 1872 HILL, Hon. P. CARTERET, Colonial Secretary, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1876 HIND, PROFESSOR HENRY Y., Windsor, Nova Scotia.
 1876 HOPKINS, DAVID, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Fernando Po.
 1877 HUDSON, JOHN FRAZER, Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.
 1875 HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near Toronto, Canada.
 1875 HUGHES, HENRY KENT, Avenel, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 †HUGHES, W. W., Wallaroo, South Australia.
 1878 HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart Town, Tasmania. (Corresponding Secretary).
 1878 HUMAN, J. Z., M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
 1872 HUNTINGTON, Hon. L. S., Q.C., M.P. (Postmaster-General), Montreal, Canada.
 1878 HYAMS, ABRAHAM, Golden Spring, Jamaica.
 1874 IRVING, His Excellency Sir HENRY T., K.C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad.
 1871 JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast Colony, Cape Coast Castle.
 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
 1872 †JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service.
 1874 JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada.
 1876 JOHNSON, ALFRED W. WARLEIGH, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.
 1878 JOHNSON, MATTHEW TROTTER, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1876 JOHNSON, G. CUNNINGHAM, J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1876 JOHNSON, H. C. ROSS, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town.
 1878 JORDAN, HENRY, F.S.S., Registrar-General, Brisbane, Queensland.
 1875 KEEFER, SAMUEL, C.E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada.
 1872 KELSEY, J. F., F.S.S., Port Louis, Mauritius.
 1877 KEMSLEY, JAMES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1869 KER, ROBERT, Auditor-General, Victoria, British Columbia (Corresponding Secretary).
 1869 KINGSMILL, JOHN JACHEREAU, County Judge, Walkerton, Ontario, Canada.
 1869 KINGSMILL, NICOL, Toronto, Canada.
 1878 KNOX, EDWARD, Sydney, New South Wales.

Year of
Election.

- 1877 KORTRIGHT, HIS EXCELLENCY C. H., C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana.
- 1876 KRIEL, REV. H. T., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 1878 LAHORDE, W. MELVILLE, British Sherbro', West Africa.
- 1878 LA MOTHE, E. A., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 LIANDALE, WALTER, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 LANGDON, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1878 LARNACK, HON. WILLIAM J. M., Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1877 LASCELLES, EDWARD H., Geelong, Victoria, Australia.
- 1872 LAURIE, COLONEL (Staff), Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1875 LEEB, P. G., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1877 LEES, JAMES, care of Messrs. Lee & Moore, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1877 LEMBERG, P., Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1869 LEVEY, CHARLES E., Quebec, Canada.
- 1873 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1877 LEVIN, W. H., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1876 LEWIS, ALBERT, St. Vincent, West Indies.
- 1877 LISSA, J. COHEN DE, F.R.G.S., F.S.S., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1876 LOGGIE, J. CRAIG, C.M.G., Inspector-General of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1875 LONGDEN, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JAMES R., K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon.
- 1878 LOVELL, DR. FRANCIS H., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1874 LOVESY, CONWAY W., Puisne Judge, British Guiana.
- 1868 LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- 1876 LOUW, M. J., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1875 MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1873 MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Toronto, Canada.
- 1877 †MCGIBBON, JAMES H. C. (Superintendent Cape Town Botanical Gardens), Holly Lodge, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 †MCLEAN, DOUGLAS, Marackakaho, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1875 MCMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikoura, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1871 McMURRAY, J. S., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada.
- 1877 MCNEILY, ALEXANDER J. W., M.H.A., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1878 MACPHERSON, ALEX. C., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1878 MACPHERSON, BRIGADIER-GENERAL HERBERT, V.C., C.B., Commanding at Mooltan, Punjaub, India.

- 1869 MASON, HENRY SLY, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 MARAIS, P. J., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1875 MARTIN EDWARD, care of J. G. Dougalty, Esq., Burke Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1870 MELBOURNE, CHARLES SYDNEY DICK, Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1876 MENDS, W. FISHER, Colonial Bank, St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1878 MERCER, WILLIAM JAMES, C.E., Elmina, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1878 MERRIMAN, THE RIGHT REV. N. J., D.D., Lord Bishop of Grahams-town, Cape Colony.
- 1876 MEWRANT, LOUIS HENRY, J.P., Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Riversdale, Cape Colony.
- 1878 MILLER, JOHN LINDSAY, M.D., F.F.P.S., F.R.C.S., Launceston, Tasmania.
- 1874 †MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, O.M.G., Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1876 MILNER, HENRY, Natal, South Africa.
- 1878 MITCHELL, HON. MAJOR, C.B.H., Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.
- 1877 MITCHELL, HON. SAMUEL, Colonial Secretary, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1878 MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
- 1878 MOODIE, G. P., Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1875 MOODIE, THOMAS, M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
- 1878 MOORE, WILLIAM H., Antigua, West Indies.
- 1875 MORTLOCK, W. R., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1876 MUNRO, J. P. G., J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1877 MURPHY, SIR FRANCIS, Kt., Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
- 1877 †MUSGRAVE, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ANTHONY, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.
- 1875 NAIRN, JOHN, Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 † NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 NICHOLLS, KERRY, Queensland.
- 1876 NIND, PHILIP HENRY, Auditor-General, Trinidad.
- 1878 NIVEN, LIEUT.-COLONEL KNOX ROWAN, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1878 NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
- 1868 NORMANBY, THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand.
- 1874 NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1877 O'BRIEN, MAJOR W. E. BARRIE, Ontario, Canada.
- 1872 O'HALLORAN, J. S., care of Frederick Wright, Esq., Gresham Chambers, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1876 O'MALLEY, HON. EDWARD L., Attorney-General, Kingston, Jamaica.

Year of
Election.

- 1875 ORGIAS, P., M.D., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1869 OUSELEY, GORE, Financial Commissioner, Punjaub, India.
 1869 OUSELEY, LIEUT.-COLONEL RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.
- 1872 †PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1876 PARKER, HUGH, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 1872 PARKES, SIR HARRY, K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
- 1875 PARKER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Chief Justice, British Honduras.
 1876 PATERSON, JOHN, M.L.A., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1878 PEACOCK, CALEB, J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1877 PEACOCK, GEORGE, Queenstown, Cape Colony.
 1877 †PEARCE, E., M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.
 1878 PEROT, ADOLPHUS WILLIAM, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
 1878 PHELPS, J. J., Qualmby, Tasmania, and Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1871 PHILIPPO, HON. GEORGE, Attorney-General, Hong Kong.
 1875 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Dry River Station, Wararapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1871 PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
 1875 PINSENT, ROBERT J., Q.C., St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1877 †POLLARD, WILLIAM B., C.E., Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
 1873 †PORTER, W. (late Attorney-General), Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1876 POTTS, THOMAS, St. John, New Brunswick.
 1876 PRAED, ARTHUR CAMPBELL, Brisbane, Queensland.
 1870 †PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Montreal, Canada.
 1872 PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 1877 REID, ALEXANDER, Manager Colonial Bank, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1876 REINECKER, BERNHARD HENRY, B.A., Auditor of the Gold Coast Colony, Accra, West Africa.
- 1874 RHIND, W. G., Bank of New South Wales, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1876 ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER W., Ottawa Toorak, Victoria, Australia.
 1876 ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
 1878 ROBINSON, SIR BRYAN, Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1869 ROBINSON, MAJOR C. W., Rifle Brigade, Gibraltar.
 1872 ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.
 1869 ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
 1878 ROGERS, MURRAY, Sydney, New South Wales.

Year of
Election.

- 1876 ROLFE, GEORGE, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1876 ROLLESTON, CHRISTOPHER, Auditor-General, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1877 ROMILLY, ALFRED, Mackay, Queensland.
- 1876 RONALD, R. B., Victoria, Australia.
- 1875 ROWE, HIS EXCELLENCY SAMUEL, C.M.G., Governor of West African Settlements.
- 1871 RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.
- 1877 RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1877 RUSSELL, GEORGE, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1875 RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 RUSSELL, HON. HENRY ROBERT, M.L.C., Mount Herbert, Waipukurau, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1878 RUSSELL, LOGAN, D. H., M.D., Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PURVIS, Woburn, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1878 RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister, Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
- 1877 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM R., M.H.R., Flaxmere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1878 RUSSELL, WILLIAM, Georgetown, Demerara, West Indies.
- 1878 †ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.
- 1874 SAMUEL, HON. SAUL, C.M.G., Postmaster-General, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1878 SANDERSON, JOHN, Durban, Natal.
- 1876 SARJEANT, HENRY, Wanganui, New Zealand.
- 1877 SAUER, J. W., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 1878 SAWERS, JOHN, Manchester, Jamaica.
- 1878 SCHOOLDS, HENRY R. PIPON, Barrister-at-Law, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1876 SCOTT, HENRY, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1868 †SCOTT, SIR J., K.C.M.G. (late Governor of British Guiana).
- 1876 SHARPE, HENRY (Provost-Marshal), St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 SHAW, MAJOR E. W., Indian Staff Corps, care of Messrs. King, King & Co., 6, Church Lane, Bombay.
- 1878 SHEARS, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, SIR THEOPHILUS, K.C.M.G., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1869 SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal, S. Africa.
- 1875 SHERIFF, HON. W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1876 SIMMONS, HON. CHARLES, M.L.C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies,

Year of
Election.

- 1877 SIMMS, W. K., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1875 SMIDT, ABRAHAM DE, Surveyor-General, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 †SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
 1872 SMITH, SIR FRANCIS, Chief Justice of Tasmania, Hobart Town.
 1878 SMITH, JAMES F., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
 1877 SOLOMON, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1876 SOLOMON, MICHAEL, Seville, St. Ann, Jamaica.
 1877 SPENCE, J. BRODIE, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1870 SPENSLEY, HOWARD, Chartered Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.
 1878 STAHLSCMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1875 STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.
 1874 STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.
 1878 †STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.
 1878 STEWART, ROBERT.
 1875 STUDHOLME, JOHN, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1876 SULLIVAN, A. F., Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
 1877 †TANNER, THOMAS, Havelock, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
 1872 †TENNANT, THE HON. SIR DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape of Good Hope.
 1874 THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.
 1874 THOMPSON, THOMAS, Transvaal, South Africa.
 1878 THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.
 1878 THOMSON, W. A., M.P., Rideau Club, Ottawa, Canada.
 1872 THORNE, CORNELIUS, Shanghai, China.
 1875 TIFFIN, HENRY H., J.P., Napier, New Zealand.
 1875 TROUPE, H. R., Auckland, New Zealand.
 1869 TRUTCH, HON. J. W., C.M.G.
 1874 TYSEN, G. R., Victoria, Australia.
 1877 TRAFFORD, HIS HONOR G., Chief Justice, St. Vincent, West Indies.
 1878 TRIMMER, FREDERICK, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1878 UNIAKKE, A.M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1875 VEITCH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.
 1869 VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Melbourne.
 1877 VERLEY, LOUIS, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1876 †WALKER, EDWARD NOEL, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Kingston, Jamaica.

- 1878 WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.
 1874 †WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., British Sherbro', West Africa.
 1875 WARD, J. H., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
 1878 WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.
 1878 WARREN, FREDERICK WILLIAM, King Street, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1875 WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. (Corresponding Secretary).
 1876 WATTS, HORACE, M.D., Stanley, Falkland Islands.
 1868 WELD, HIS EXCELLENCY FREDERICK A., C.M.G., Governor of Tasmania.
 1876 †WEST-ERSKINE, W.A.E., M.A., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1877 WESTMORLAND, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., Prospect, Annott's Bay, P.O., Jamaica.
 1878 WHITE, ARNOLD, Colombo Club, Ceylon.
 1876 WHITEHEAD, PERCY, Leolrop, Harrismith, Orange Free State, South Africa.
 1872 WHITFIELD, R. H., Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1875 WHITMAN, JAMES, St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1878 WHITMORE, HON. COLONEL, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of New Zealand, The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
 1878 WHYHAM, WILLIAM H., Antigua, West Indies.
 1878 WIGLEY, JAMES, F.J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
 1876 WILMOT, ALEXANDER, J.P., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1875 WILSON, FREDERICK H., Cashmere, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1878 WILSON, JOHN GEORGE HANNAY, Orion Downs, Queensland.
 1875 WILSON, HON. JOHN N., M.L.C., Napier, New Zealand.
 1877 WING, EDGAR, Tasmania.
 1876 WINTON, ROBERT, St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1878 WOOD, READER GILSON, M.H.R., Auckland, New Zealand.
 1872 WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles).
 1878 YOUNG, JESS, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1876 YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
 1878 †YOUNG, HON. WILLIAM, A.G., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of British Guiana, Georgetown, Demarara, West Indies.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION 1877-78.

FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, of Session 1877-78, took place on Tuesday, November 20th, 1877, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street; the PRESIDENT, his Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P., in the chair. Amongst those present were the following:—

Sir John Coode, Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.; Sir Francis Murphy (Melbourne), the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Graham's Town, Major-Gen. Clarke, Lieut.-Col. G. Chesney, R.E.; Col. Fischer, Capt. G. Frederick Young (Bengal Staff Corps), Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Rev. J. J. Beck (Cape Colony), Dr. P. Chiappini (Cape Colony), Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P.; Mr. J. W. Sauer (M.L.A. Cape Colony), Mr. Stephen William Silver, Mr. F. P. Labilliere, Mr. H. Rokeby Price, Mr. G. Molineux, Mr. T. Risley Griffith (Grenada), Mr. Philip T. Smith (Tasmania), Mr. Arthur L. Clay (Civil Commissioner, India), Mr. Edmund Trimmer (South Australia), Mr. E. Darter (Cape Colony), Mr. Philip Capel Hanbury, Mr. Alexander Rogers (late Member of Council, Bombay), Mr. James A. Youl, C.M.G.; Hon. Henry Westmorland (M.L.C., Jamaica), Mr. C. W. Thies (Cape Colony), Mr. H. W. Freeland, Mr. Henry Blaine, Mr. J. Dennistoun Wood (late Attorney-General, Victoria), Mr. Henry J. Jourdain, Mr. Alexander Brown (Mauritius), Mr. G. P. Moodie (Transvaal), Mr. James Farmer (New Zealand), Mr. Hugh Jamieson, Major-General J. G. Balmain, Mr. and Mrs. Westgarth, Mr. A. Macalister, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), Mr. H. De B. Hollings, Mr. George Foggo, Mr. Thomas Hamilton, Mr. P. Dod, Mr. W. Kirby, Mr. J. A. Quinton, Mr. Arthur L. Young and Miss Young, Mr. James Bonwick (Victoria), Mr. A. A. Broadribb, Mr. Arthur W. Bidder, Miss Molineaux, Miss Ewart, Mr. and Mrs. John A'Deane (New Zealand), Hon. Mrs. Elliott, Miss Jerningham, Mr. B. S. Lloyd, Mr. S. B. Browning (New Zealand), Mr. Robert Harrison, Mr. F. W. Stone (Canada), Mr. C. Erskine, Mr. Henry Marriott, Mr. F. Burton,

Mr. Arthur G. Sterry, Mr. J. E. N. O'Dwyer, Mr. Alexander Turnbull, Mr. Joseph Trutch, C.M.G. (British Columbia), Mr. Abraham Hyams (Jamaica), Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. W. T. Deverell (Victoria), Mr. Francis A. Gwynne (Victoria), Mr. A. S. Murray, Mr. L. W. Thrupp (South Australia), Mr. F. S. Turner, Mr. T. Saunders, Mr. T. T. Roscow, Mr. Alexander Bell Bird (Jamaica), Mr. C. H. Moffatt, Rev. Brymer Belcher, Major Evans Bell, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Evans, Mr. H. B. T. Strangways (late Attorney-General for South Australia), Mr. A. Philipson, Mr. Charles E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), Mr. W. M. Farmer (Cape Colony), Mr. G. J. Symons, Mr. W. Hamilton Burn, Mr. C. B. Steele, Mr. J. Marshall and Miss Marshall, Miss Martin, Miss Bickford Smith, Rev. John G. H. Hill, Mr. R. A. Aspinall, Mr. A. B. Abraham (New Zealand), Mr. George W. Cockburn, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. Hyde Clarke, D.C.L.; Mr. Frederick Young (Honorary Secretary), &c. &c.

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the minutes of the Tenth Ordinary Meeting of Session 1876-77, which were confirmed. The names of a number of Fellows elected during the recess were announced, as well as a list of numerous books, papers, and specimens to the Museum, contributed to the Institute.

The PRESIDENT then called upon ROBERT H. ELLIOT, Esq., to read the following paper :—

INDIAN FAMINES, AND HOW TO MODIFY THE CAUSES THAT LEAD TO THEM.

Before beginning my lecture on the important subject that is to occupy our attention this evening, I cannot help pausing for one moment to congratulate the President and Council of this Institute on the fact that, by opening their winter session with a paper on India, they have thus indicated their conviction that the solution of our Indian difficulties is, for us, the most pressing question of the day. Permit me also to congratulate the members of this Institute on the fact that their affairs are conducted by men who take such a comprehensive view of the interests of our Colonies. To some it might appear that as India is not a Colony, its interests have little practical bearing on the objects to which this society ought to be devoted. But I need hardly say that your President and Council have taken no such narrow view. They have seen that the prosperity of the Colonies is largely wound up with the prosperity of England, and that the prosperity of England very largely depends upon the successful government of India. They have doubtless seen, too, that from the prosperous state of the infant cotton industries of India, it is merely a question of time as to how

soon woollen manufactories will follow, and so stimulate the production of wool in Australia and in the Cape. Both directly and indirectly, then, is this Society interested in the welfare of India; and I need hardly add that your President and Council could not devote themselves to a more useful work than that of urging on the attention of the Government every measure that can conduce to the prosperity of our Eastern Empire.

Let me now direct your attention to Indian famines. That is the grand problem that lies before us. If it can be solved all will go well; if it cannot be solved—if the people are to drift on, as at present, from one famine to another—the dreary decadence of our Indian Empire must continue, till it either becomes an annual burden on the English taxpayer, or is suffered to take its place amongst those insolvent States with whom the money-lenders of the world are already too well acquainted.

Let me now mark out the ground I mean to traverse :—

1. I propose to make some remarks on the numbers and probable increase of the people.

2. I propose to show that, taking into account the increase of the people, the financial condition of India is such that it must, eventually, be unable to meet the cost of famines.

3. I shall show that neither railways, canals, nor emigration can solve the grand problem.

4. I shall have to point out that no permanent amelioration can take place unless it rise out of the general progress of the people.

5. I propose to show what measures should be adopted in order to enable the people to help themselves.

6. Lastly, I shall show how the finances of India may be so improved as to enable the State the better to cope with famines.

The population of India is at least 240,000,000, and there is no reason to doubt that it is increasing at the English rate of one per cent. per annum. In twenty years, then, it will rise to nearly 293,000,000, in forty years to upwards of 357,000,000, and in eighty years to about 530,000,000. This may seem somewhat startling, but I am afraid it is far within the probable increase. In the first place, the population is in all probability nearer to 250,000,000 than to 240,000,000. In the second place, the rate of multiplication is far faster than in England, because a woman in India bears a child at a much earlier age than an English woman. In the third place, there is the strongest incentive to marriage, both on religious and social grounds. And then there are none of the checks that a more civilised people have. Luxury amongst the masses is unknown; the wants of life are few; the habits of the

people abstemious. It must also be remembered that every other possible check has either been withdrawn or reduced to a minimum. War, pestilence, famine, infanticide, suttee, human sacrifices, religious suicides, tigers, wolves, panthers, Thugs, and even snakes, have all come within the reach of our life-conserving rule ; lastly, we have legalised the re-marriage of widows. In short, every condition most favourable to the increase of the people either naturally exists or has been carefully provided ; and thus every element that might disturb our calculations has been removed. And what are our duties towards these helpless masses ? The age will not allow us to neglect them, and we are so deeply pledged to India that it is impossible to contemplate any form of retreat. We cannot lay down our burden—that will rise in twenty years to 298,000,000, in forty years to 857,000,000, and in eighty years to 580,000,000, or a population exceeding that of all Europe by 280,000,000 ; and I repeat this because, when we come to consider the financial position of India, it is important that you should bear these facts carefully in mind.

Let us now inquire whether the financial position is such that, with those vast numbers before us, we can pay for the famines as they arise. Now I have no hesitation in saying that, whatever we may be able to do at present, or in the immediate future, it is impossible that we can for long continue to do so. To prove this to your satisfaction it will be necessary to say something as to the condition and prospects of the finances. And here let me entreat of you not to resign yourselves to those feelings of despair which naturally arise at the very mention of Indian finance. You are all familiar with the annual wrangle that takes place on this subject in the House of Commons. There is the delightful and soothing optimism of the Mr. Grant Duffs, who tell us that things are in a satisfactory state, and produce accounts to prove it. There are the rough denials of the Mr. Smolletts, who declare that the accounts are cooked. Now I am not going to endeavour to strike a balance between these opposing parties, nor plunge into the mysteries of ordinary and extraordinary expenditure. What I am going to do is merely to tell you what the revenues paid by the people really amount to, and what the financial prospects are.

The public is annually told that, in round numbers, the revenue of India amounts to about £50,000,000, and from this statement naturally supposes that this great sum is annually paid into the Indian Treasury by the people of India. To suppose anything of the kind is an utter delusion. Let us examine the published account of the revenues of India for the year ending March 31st,

1876. The total revenue given amounts to £51,810,068. Now let us add up the items which the people pay. Land revenue, salt, stamps, excise, customs, forest, mint, post-office, telegraphs, law and justice, and miscellaneous ; these come to £88,261,560. As to the balance, it is partly derived from opium to the extent of £8,471,425, and the residue consists of items which are matters of account with a corresponding set-off on the side of expenditure. The revenues, then, we can permanently rely on amount to little more than £88,000,000, and their prospects may be summed up by saying that they are inelastic in the ordinary sense of the word, that every item has been run up to the utmost point, and that the two greatest—land and salt—have been enhanced to an injudicious, and some even think to a blameable extent. Now, even with the aid of the precarious opium revenue, India, as at present administered, can just pay its way. How then can it pay for the famines of the distant future ? The Bengal famine cost about £6,000,000 ; the famine now beginning to pass away will cost about £11,000,000 ; and had our measures been adequate to preventing the fearful loss of life that has taken place, it would have cost far more. Now recall what I have said as to the probable increase of the people, and is it not evident that a famine of twenty years hence must cost more still, while a famine of forty years hence will probably cost at least £20,000,000. But how if opium fails us ? A wall is no stronger than its weakest point, and a wall one-sixth of which is utterly unreliable can hardly set up much claim to soundness. Now if I had time I could prove to you, *ad nauseam*, that our opium revenue will go as soon as the Chinese discover that public opinion here will not sanction another opium war. For the rulers of China hate the very mention of our opium revenue. They hate it because they cannot put down opium-growing in China as long as they are forced to admit our opium into their dominions ; they hate it because it is a standing mark of foreign domination and of their own weakness ; and they hate it because they grudge the payment of that £8,000,000 per annum to India, which is a sheer loss to China ; and no one who has examined, as I have, all the evidence on this subject taken before the Indian Finance Committee can possibly doubt that the days of opium are numbered. But whether this be so or not, it is, for the reasons above given, impossible to contemplate that India can for long continue to pay for the famines of the future ; and we may therefore pass on to our third point, and consider whether railways, canals, and emigration are likely to help us out of our Eastern difficulties.

The idea that railways can solve the grand problem has often been entertained, and is, at first sight, extremely natural. I need hardly say that it is delusive. Railways can, indeed, modify a slight scarcity by carrying grain from one part of the country to another. They can also enable the State to relieve a famine that could not otherwise be dealt with. But by tapping the country in ordinary seasons, they drain it of grain. Now the railways can undoubtedly bring back the grain, but vast masses have no means of buying it whatever, and the cost is so high that great numbers of those who are not altogether destitute cannot afford to purchase enough food to carry them through a severe famine. Railways, then, can only place the people beyond the risk of death from starvation as long as the State has unlimited command of money. Now it has been previously shown that the resources of the State must eventually be unequal to meet the famine charges of the future ; and the idea that railways can solve the grand problem must therefore be dismissed as untenable.

But it may be urged, as urged Lord Salisbury the other day at Bradford, the remedy here evidently is, that people should, by frugality, save enough to pay for grain in times of famine. To those who, like myself, have lived amongst them, and tilled the soil, this remark of Lord Salisbury's can only appear to be an intensely bitter and cruel gibe. What have the masses to save from ? As regards the great mass of poor cultivators, I can testify that they have nothing to save from, for I have taken an average native holding, cultivated it, and, after having reaped the crops and paid the taxes, found so little profit, that I let the land to a native on condition that he would pay me the Government tax. As for many millions in the Madras Presidency, I must descend into the animal kingdom for a comparison which will give you an idea of the means they have of saving enough money to buy grain when the railways bring it back at famine prices. The personal property of all kinds, then, that is owned by many millions of the lower classes in India, is much below that of a border Leicester ram in summer. His fleece is then worth about eighteen shillings. I should be extremely surprised to find that the personal property of many millions of the lower classes in Mysore and the Madras Presidency exceed in value per head one half of that sum. But why have they no personal property ? Simply because, after having fed themselves and their families on the coarsest fare imaginable, there is hardly anything left.

Let us now turn to the question of canals. It would no doubt have been better for India if much of the money that has been

spent on railways had been spent on canals. But the railways have been made, and taking into consideration the indebtedness of India, no prudent financier would recommend the Government to enter into such schemes to the extent that would be necessary to solve the grand problem. And even if the Government was prepared to spend the money, it is doubtful to what extent such irrigation could be carried out. But as no Government would care to run the risk that would be incurred by adding to the already enormous liabilities of India, it is useless to say anything more upon the point, except that Government should spend as much on irrigation as its current resources will allow.

Let us now turn to emigration, a subject I should not have thought worth considering had not Lord Salisbury alluded to it in his speech at Bradford. On that occasion he said: "If there are too many for the land to support, well, then, there must be emigration. You know in Ireland that was the case. There were too many people for the land to support. A great calamity came, great emigration followed, and there is no danger now of any such calamity being repeated." Mr. Grant Duff's celebrated official optimism could hardly equal this. Is there a second America lying hidden in the Eastern seas? And if there was, what ships could carry, and what Government could pay for the deportation of the annual surplus of these vast populations when they become too many for the land? But I need not longer detain you with further remarks on this head.

We have now looked at the subject in the usual way—from the top downwards; and those who are accustomed to the usual method of regarding Indian affairs will naturally conclude that there is nothing to be done but to give up the subject in despair. But how as to the people? Let us turn round and look from the bottom upwards. If we can discover any means of starting improvement at the root of the tree there is yet hope—a somewhat forlorn hope at the best—but still hope. Now I have no hesitation in saying that much can be done if we turn our attention to the land and the people, and to measures which will the better enable them to do justice to the soil and improve their general prosperity.

The first thing to be done, then, is to provide tenures that will attract to the land as much capital as possible. At present the tenures are such as to repel it. With the exception of the permanently settled districts, the Crown is the landlord, and the cultivator is handed a lease for thirty years. At the termination of it the land is subject to a re-valuation. Is it possible to conceive a system better calculated to drive capital from land and suppress

the energies of a people? To attract capital certainly is indispensable. The Government has provided utter uncertainty. A man might dig wells, make tanks, and plant trees, if he had any security as to the demands that were to be made upon him, but he has no security for his outlay in a tenure with fixed demands, and he very properly lets improvements alone. Now let me give you an illustration of the evils arising from such a system. In consequence of the aid afforded by our law, the useful and necessary class of Indian-money lenders have been turned into bitter oppressors of the cultivating classes, and so rapidly has the ruin of the latter been accomplished, that much land has been, and is now being, transferred to the money-lender. Now what does he do when he gets possession of it? Does he invest capital in it, and so compensate in some measure for the evils our law enables him to inflict on society? Why should he when he has no inducement in the shape of a tenure of fixed value? What then does he do? He simply keeps on the old occupant, reduces him to the condition of a mere serf, and grinds all the rent he can out of him. The end is, that the land is in a worse position than it was before, because the ruined farmer is less able to do it justice. Now, if there was a considerable and certain return to be obtained from landed improvements, the transfer of a certain proportion of the soil would be good for the country, because the monied classes would be only too glad to invest in it, if they could clearly see their way, and the last remark, I need hardly say, applies to all the better class of farmers. In the first place, then, every tenure should declare a rate beyond which the Government demand is not to go in any future lease, and the rate of enhancement should be very moderate. In the second place, the tenure should declare that, if the occupant brings the land under irrigation by digging wells or making a tank, he and his heirs should have a fee-simple tenure at the existing rate of assessment, on condition that the irrigation work be kept in thorough repair. As regards famines, I need hardly say that I attach the greatest importance to the second measure, because, if ever India is to be helped out of the famine difficulties, it must be by irrigation. And yet what did Lord Salisbury tell the people of Bradford lately? He said that, "You cannot apply tank and well irrigation for the purpose of preventing famine, for the very good reason that, when there is a drought, these tanks and wells are the first to dry up." Now this statement is not true as regards the latter, because deep wells, properly shaded by trees, would not dry up, except under

some very protracted drought, and in many cases not even then. If anyone doubts the value of wells, he has only to read the Madras Famine letter which appeared in the *Times* of October 30th, where the correspondent in the Coimbatore district, alluding to the deep wells, says: "Without these wells, and the scanty crops obtainable from them, the condition of this district, bad as it is, would have been infinitely worse, and many large tracts would have been uninhabitable." Then, in the case of tanks, Lord Salisbury's statement is worse than if it was entirely untrue, because there is none more dangerous than when the true and false are mixed together. Tanks certainly are the first works to dry up in a drought, but that they must necessarily remain so is a delusion, because, though a drought may be practically unbroken as regards dry crops, it may be sufficiently broken for those under irrigation. Let me give you an illustration. In Mysore last June the dry crops, which are about four-fifths of all the grain crops in the province, were sown favourably, but, from the cessation of the rain, were largely lost, and, as it was, the rain in August came barely in time to save any of them. In short, they might have utterly failed. But the rain that fell in June, along with a storm in March, partially filled the tanks, and enabled the wet cultivation to go on. Now, the famine commissioner of Mysore, writing on September 28th, reports that: "We have the rice and millet of the irrigated land coming into the market, and prices already easier in consequence." It would be impossible to find a better illustration of the value of tanks as regards famine, and it proves most undoubtedly that, if tanks were sufficiently multiplied, they could keep a population alive right through what, in their absence, would be practically an unbroken drought. But even if it was true that tanks and wells dry up in a drought, the conclusion arrived at is as misleading as any conclusion could be. Is it possible that the head of the Government of India in this country requires to be told that wells and tanks increase the production of land, enrich the cultivator, and so enable him the better to face famine? Is it possible that he requires to be told that, as drought is never universal, the increased production of the parts where the rain had not failed, would lower prices in the region of drought? Is there no truth in sayings which embody the experience of thousands of years? I trust that if you do not attach any importance to what I say, you will believe that when the Indian saying, "Every man should dig a well and plant a tree before he dies," passed into a proverb, it is sufficient evidence as to the wants most felt by the people.

The next thing to be done is to amend the laws which press so

heavily on the indebted cultivator. Now I have no time to go into this subject at full length ; but if anyone wishes to understand it thoroughly, he has only to read Mr. Pedder's paper on "Famine and Debt in India," which appeared in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Let anyone interested in India read that, and mark how it contrasts with the optimist orations of officials and ex-officials. Let anyone contrast it, for instance, with what Mr. Grant Duff lately said at Elgin. He told his audience that every scheme that could be contrived for the welfare of the people had either been adopted, or only rejected after ample examination. But let anyone read the article in question who wishes to see what an Indian civilian has to say on the subject. It is sufficient for my purpose to remark here, that every legal engine that can aid the ruin of the cultivator has been brought to bear upon him by our Government. His needs compel him to borrow, and, when he does so, his liberty is gone for ever, and his life made a burden to the end of his days. In 1875, the people of some Bombay districts rose against their cruel persecutors, broke into their houses, and destroyed the bonds and accounts of the money-lenders. This led to a commission of inquiry, which brought to light the most frightful evils. Amongst these we find that the creditor has unlimited power to imprison the agricultural debtor ; that even after having stripped the unfortunate man and his family down to the very clothes on their backs, he may follow on his heels and strip him again and again as often as he can scrape a few rupees together. But anything is better than a prison, and in one instance that was brought to light, the unfortunate farmer had even sacrificed the honour of his wife and daughter to the lusts of his unrelenting creditor. While the money-lender has more than all the protection accorded by civilised codes, the agriculturist debtor is not even able to become insolvent. "When," reports the commission of inquiry, "we compare the law of India with that of other countries, we find that not one is so oppressive in this respect, not even the law of Moses, which allowed the debtor a discharge after serving seven years." Such, then, is the state of the law. Need I say anything more as to the necessity of amending it in such a way that, while the useful and necessary office of the money-lender remains, the terrible power given him may be swept away? Is it necessary to point out to the Government that the more the cultivator is depressed the more unable will he be to cope with famine, and the more must he eventually cost the State?

The next point that demands the immediate action of the State relates to the breaking-up of grazing lands. This is permitted on

a system so wasteful that, if any proprietor here allowed it on his property, he would be justly regarded as a mischievous lunatic. Let me give you an illustration. In the province of Mysore in 1874-75, 106,000 acres are reported as having been thrown out of cultivation, notwithstanding that there was a total increase of the area under plough. What does this mean? Simply that 106,000 acres of land formerly valuable as grazing had been ploughed up, exhausted, and then handed back to the State in a state of sheer desert, and that more than that quantity had been taken up to undergo a similar process. How far such a ruinous system prevails throughout India I have no means of knowing, but that it prevails over immense tracts I have not the slightest doubt. What is the general result? Simply that, with an increased area under plough, you have diminished means of feeding stock, and that the always scanty manurial resources of India are relatively lessening. The effect of such a system on the famines of the future I need not explain. The obvious remedy here is, that unless clearly in excess of the requirements of the country, no fresh grazing lands should be broken up, and whenever new land is broken up, some attempt should be made to ascertain whether the tenant has the means of maintaining it in cultivation in an efficient manner.

I now come to subjects of immense importance—forests and tree-planting. Here the State can greatly aid the farmer in maintaining the fertility of the soil. To anyone who has tilled the soil, and so practically experienced all the difficulties and wants of the agriculturist in India, this is a subject which requires no explanation. But it is difficult for an ordinary Englishman to understand the direct and indirect manurial value of leaves. These are not only valuable in themselves, but in India their value as litter for conserving the excreta of cattle is immense, for it is on account of the want of such litter, that the scanty manurial resources of India are so largely lessened. And yet in Buchanan's work on "*Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*," which was published seventy years ago, there is frequent reference to the use of leaves as manure and for litter, showing how valuable trees are to the farmer. It is strange, then, that the Government should have failed to recognise the value of trees. But what has it done? It has simply permitted a reckless destruction of wood all over the country. Though somewhat increased since 1872-73, the forest reserve of the State amounted then to little more than what the State conserves in Prussia. As for the woods outside of these reserves, they have been drawn upon without any check worthy of the name; very little has been done as regards replanting; and no steps whatever have been taken

to see that, as in Germany, the annual growth balances the annual consumption. Some idea of the march of destruction may be given by saying that, whereas Bangalore twenty years ago was supplied with firewood from scrub jungles not ten miles away, the supply has now to be brought from a distance of thirty miles, all the forests between these distances having been completely ruined by a reckless system of clean-sweep felling ; and though the Government is now doing something to repair the evil, the ground planted bears no proportion to that which has been cleared of trees. As for the Government of Madras, its proceedings seem to go no further than deriving what income it can from the woods. Nor is man the only animal to contend with here ; for the work of the axe is completed by armies of goats, which nip off the young suckers that spring from the tree stumps, and thus destroy all hopes of natural reparation. The following are the measures urgently needed to meet these evils : (1) Forests should be worked so that the annual growth should balance the annual consumption ; (2) the felling of immature trees prohibited ; and (3) the goats kept out of the woods. Such are the conservative measures urgently required. But the Government should without delay plant the whole of inhabited India from one end to the other. To do this at its own expense entirely is obviously impossible. It must therefore supply the plants, and call upon the villagers to put them down, protect, and water them. On the waste lands of every village there should be a block of trees formed in proportion to the requirements of the population. Where no such lands exist, the boundaries of holdings should be planted.

But besides the immense manurial value of trees to the Indian farmer, their climatic value is very great, and I only wish I had time to dwell longer on those beautiful irrigation works of nature which have been so recklessly destroyed from one end of India to the other. But the meteorological records of many countries lie before us ; and those who wish for further information as to the effects of forests on climate have only to consult Dr. Croumbie Brown's valuable work on "Forests and Moisture." Some, indeed, have contended that, as the rain that falls in India depends on causes far remote from it, forests can therefore have little effect in mitigating the effects of drought. I need hardly say that such a conclusion is of the same value as Lord Salisbury's conclusion as to the anti-famine value of wells and tanks. Locke tells us that, as regards the miscarriage of his reason, the human animal may be divided into three varieties : there are those who seldom reason at all, those who put passion in the place of reason, and, lastly, those

who readily and sincerely follow reason, but for want of having that which we may call large, sound, round-about sense, have not a full view of all that relates to the question and may be of moment to decide it. Of the last kind are those who fail to see the famine-mitigating effects of tanks, wells, and trees. Tanks and wells might not be able to irrigate much land in a protracted and unbroken drought, but, as I have previously shown, their value as regards famine is immense. So, too, as regards woods and forests. In times of drought they might not be instrumental in bringing a single drop to the thirsty soil; but, in ordinary seasons, they would cool and moisten the air, and so increase the growth of crops and grass; conserve the water in wells and tanks and streams, lessen evaporation from the land, help the farmer to manure it, and, by enriching him, enable him the better to face famine. Lastly, it must be considered that, as drought is never universal, the increased production they would cause in the parts where the rains had not failed, would aid in lowering prices in the famine tract. Look at the one narrow point of the effect of forests on rainfall, and you will not perhaps think much of them; embrace all their varying relations to man and nature, and you will at once perceive their value.

One word more as to this important subject. I have said that forests might not increase the rainfall in India, because I have no means of proving that they will do so. But experience elsewhere makes it highly probable that they will do so, not by bringing more rain to India, but by causing it to be used over and over again after it has arrived. It is interesting to note that one of the best illustrations we have of the influence of forests on rainfall, has been furnished by the East India Company when it governed St. Helena. Under the rule of the early Governors the woods in the island were destroyed, and the climate desiccated. Towards the close of the last century the re-wooding of the country was commenced, and, since the growth of the trees, droughts such as formerly recorded are unknown. But, even in India, climatic results are already reported from the conservation of woods, and the Deputy Conservator in Berar tells us that in the reserves "the extreme heat is modified by increased moisture and diminished radiation, while frosts in the open tracts are becoming common." Water, he tells us, is more plentiful. "Pools are found in the minor water-courses in the hot weather, whereas formerly no water was to be found after February, except in the main streams. Sudden floods have diminished. The mortality amongst cattle has decreased." A tree, then, is merely a Sir Arthur Cotton in another

and better form. It is irrigation, and a great deal more; and how trees can thus modify the causes that lead to famine, I need not further explain.

The next measure demanding attention is one for the extension of old and the creation of new industries. I need hardly say that, with a large population, no country can achieve a solid civilisation without the aid of manufactures. Has the Government here led the way, and shown what can be done by starting industries in those parts of the country best suited to them? It has done nothing of the kind. But it may be urged that State interference in such matters is mischievous. Such, at any rate, has neither been the opinion nor the experience of the Government. Its aim in every direction has been to initiate, and withdraw when example was no longer needed. This it did as regards tea and cotton and other cultures. Now, had the Government, by starting model mills, shown practically what could be done in the way of new industries, the country would have already made great strides in the way to progress. But it is needless to detain you longer here, as nothing can be more evident than that the attention of Government should be at once turned to the development of industries by the erection of model mills and the creation of industrial schools.

We have now remarked on the landed, legal, and economical reforms that can effectually be brought to bear on the famines of the future. But long before these measures can bear fruit, many famines must be paid for. In India no man can tell what a single year may bring forth, and a famine every three or four years is the least we can expect. And it must ever be remembered that every famine, by impoverishing the people, will make the next one more costly to the State. It must be considered, too, that though prudence forbids us to borrow large sums for irrigation works, prudence also demands that we should spend as much on irrigation as our current resources will allow. To pay for the famines of the immediate future, and save something for irrigation, will task all the efforts of the State; and, I need hardly say, it will be impossible to do either, unless the finances are better administered, and the fullest use made of British credit. But here, too, we shall find that much may be done. Let me, then, direct your attention to financial measures and reforms.

The first measure to consider is the question of the acquisition of the railways by the State. By the ninety-nine-year contracts made between the State and the old guaranteed Companies, the Government reserved the right of purchasing the lines and plant within six months after the expiration of the first twenty-five years, or at any

time after fifty years, on giving half a year's notice. The value to be paid was settled to be the average value of the shares for three years previous to such notice. It also, by clause twenty-six of the contracts, reserved power to pay by annuities instead of a gross sum, which annuities were to continue during the residue of the terms of ninety-nine years. The rate of interest to be used in calculating such annuities was to be determined by the average rate of interest during the preceding two years received in London upon public obligations of the East India Company, and other public obligations issued in London, by the Secretary of State in Council. There are, however, two lines which have contracts without the annuity clause, and in those of the Southern India and the Oude and Rohilkund lines, instead of the annuity clause, the State has reserved the right of either paying in a gross sum, or paying in Five per Cent. Government of India Stock. It is needless to say that the annuity clause secured an excellent bargain for the natives of India. The guaranteed interest is five per cent. per annum. At the end of the twenty-five year period, by granting annuities bearing an annual interest of less than five per cent. the Government has the power of acquiring the lines and plant, which would thus become the clear, unencumbered property of the peoples of India at the close of ninety-nine years. Now what has happened here? The Home Government, without consulting their colleagues in India, waived the right of purchase at the close of the twenty-five year period as regards several of the lines. Upon this, the Government in India, on the 12th of August, 1870, sent a strong remonstrance, as they thought it their "duty to protest on behalf of the taxpayers of India." The reply (*vide* his despatch of December 8rd, 1870) of the Duke of Argyll was that he had considered the surrender unimportant, but that he would not do it again in the case of other lines, without consulting the Government in India. I need hardly say that a more astonishing and reckless sacrifice was never made, more especially when we come to consider how much more cheaply the Government could work the railways by the abolition of the existing boards, and that the railway profits must, as time advances, be much enhanced. The next chance of acquiring a railway will occur in February, 1879, and I sincerely trust that, on that occasion, the Government in India will not have "to protest, on behalf of the tax-payers of India," against the negligence or incapacity of their colleagues in England. But I need not say anything more as to the necessity of securing every line as the various opportunities occur, as the financial relief this measure will afford is so apparent. It is only fair to add here

that one of the Council at the India Office, Mr. Macnaghten, protested strongly against the reckless sacrifice that was made.

The next measure advisable is to give a British guarantee for Indian liabilities. This has often been urged. Though legally Indian debt, it is a mere delusion to say that it is not in effect British debt. The money came from here, the stocks are held here, and here the loss, if loss there should be, must fall. That the separation kept up in any way aids economy, or financial care, or prevents unlimited borrowing, is equally a delusion. The Indian Government has borrowed immense sums, and, by treating opium as if it was a permanent and reliable source of revenue, does now conduct its finances in a most reckless fashion. A British guarantee, on the other hand, would cause greater prudence and economy, because Parliament, and the people here, would feel more distinctly responsible for India than they do now. The relief that such a guarantee would give would be enormous, and would enable the Government to purchase the two lines that have no annuity clause on far more favourable terms than it otherwise could.

The next point that calls for reform relates to the unjust charges systematically thrust on to India by the English Treasury. Now I have no time to go fully into this subject, and must therefore content myself with giving you a few of the numerous items. In the first place, India pays a proportion of the charges of English depôts of regiments serving in India. In other words, India pays largely for soldiers doing necessary garrison duty in English towns. India pays one-third of the cost of the Chinese Mission, and seventeen Consulates: all these are strictly Queen's establishments. She pays £12,000 a year for the Persian Mission, which is also under the direct control of the Crown. She pays half of the expenses of the Zanzibar Mission. She paid largely to the expenses of the Abyssinian war, with which she had nothing to do. So, too, as regards the Malayan expedition. For the political and commercial needs of both countries, a telegraph was made to India at a cost of a million, the whole of which was charged to India. Lord Salisbury's salary is entirely paid by India, though that officer's services are liable to be largely used by the English Cabinet. When the Sultan visited London, it was necessary for the honour of England to entertain him. This was done by a costly ball at the India Office, every shilling of which was charged to India. At the very time when dogs and jackals were tearing to pieces the moribund frames of British subjects perishing of famine by the roadsides, the Duke of Edinburgh was sent to the East, and

a large sum was taken out of the beggared Indian Treasury to defray the expenses of his tour, and even the passages of his suite from London. In fact, so embarrassed was the Treasury at the time, that taxes had to be levied summarily in the middle of the year. My ancestors on the Border had not a high reputation, but, compared with this, their lives stand high in the moral scale. Then, their appropriations were justified by their circumstances. What is there in our national circumstances to justify the plundering of these feeble people? Does it pay? It certainly does not. A national reputation is surely worth something, and, if it is not, let me tell you that every shilling of these charges is just so much lost to those useful works which are so necessary to ward off those famines which threaten to overwhelm our Indian Empire. Shall it be said that we yielded to the threats of America that justice which we deny to our feeble Eastern subjects? Common honesty demands that a commission should be appointed to investigate this matter, with a view of restoring to the Indian Treasury the sums with which it has been unjustly charged.

The next point on which much reform is possible is that of the native army. But here, if you hint that it might be reduced and remodelled in a cheaper way, you are at once met by a reference to the 815,000 men and 5,800 large guns of the native chiefs and princes. If, then, I were to go into this question here, the whole policy of our permitting those States to keep up armies, which are a source of expense to us, would have to be discussed, and I need hardly say that we have no time for that. I can, then, only here say that the numbers, and especially the improved discipline and arms, of these forces have an immense bearing on our ability to contend with the famines that threaten to ruin us. There are three ways of solving the question. The first, and I venture to think the best, is to bring about a federation of States, and ally the princes with us in the government of a United Indian Empire; the second, is to make them reduce their forces; the third, to make them contribute towards the cost of keeping the peace, which is now entirely thrown on our own subjects.

In conclusion, let me suggest that the famine charges of the future might be more easily met if the import duties were slightly enhanced. These are the only taxes which fall on the British and native-State inhabitants of all India, and in proportion to their means—much on the rich and well-to-do, very little on the poor. As one-fourth of these taxes falls on the inhabitants of the native States, the proposed enhancement would cause

them to contribute more largely to that expenditure for keeping the peace which their chiefs so largely cause. A tax with all these advantages, and the only one which has any promise of elasticity, ought evidently to be a favourite one with our financiers, especially as it is the one of all others which the natives of India least object to. Now, what does the Government propose here? It has promised the abolition of the duties as its first financial reduction. This is Lord Salisbury's policy. He promised it to the people of Manchester, who are aggrieved at the duties on their wares. What was the nominal objection to them? That they were protective. Now the Commission appointed to inquire into the subject proved that they were not so, because the Indian mills do not make those fine goods which Manchester sends to India. What the Indian mills do compete with is the native hand-loom, and in the manufacture of coarse goods. Nor did the duty injure the sales of Manchester, as an immense increase had taken place in the shipment of her production. But, it is urged, the mills in India will one day manufacture the fine goods now solely supplied by Manchester, and then the duty will be protective. When it becomes so, it will be time enough to put a duty on the produce of Indian mills equal to the import duties now levied. Permit me one more word on this subject—one word for the interests of those helpless masses who have no means of making their wants known, unless, as in the case of the disturbances in the Bombay district previously alluded to, they take to rioting. For them the first duty which needs lowering is that on salt, both for themselves and for their cattle. What is the first tax that Lord Salisbury has promised to reduce? One that will lighten the burdens of the rich and relatively increase those of the poor, on whom the great weight of taxation already falls; that will remove a tax from native States, and relatively increase the demands on our own subjects.

I have now flayed the body of the beast, but, as the Spaniards would say, there is still a good deal of skinning left in the tail—minor reforms, such as the abolition of the costly governments of Bombay and Madras, with their commanders-in-chief; the increased employment of cheap natives, in place of dear Europeans; the purchase of stores directly by the Government in India; and without the intervention of the India Office; and other matters which I have no time even to mention. A few more remarks, however, I must make, and on Lord Salisbury's speech at Bradford, to which I have previously alluded.

What was the main tenor of that speech? It was that nothing

should be done, and expressed much dread lest the public here should force on the Government any scheme to ward off the famines of the future. Canals were sneered at because water would not run up-hill; tanks and wells because they would dry up in a drought. What were his Lordship's remedial measures for the famines of the future? The people were to save—from Heaven knows what; and when too many for the land, were to emigrate—Heaven knows where. He made but one allusion to financial reform, and that was to lament that, from the want of money, he could not sweep away those import duties to which I have just alluded. I cannot express to you my feelings of disappointment on reading that speech. It showed a desire merely to shelve the whole question—an easy course, no doubt, for Lord Salisbury, but one that neither the public nor the press ought to submit to, if either have the smallest regard for British interests. Are we to be asked to conclude that our rule in India has reached her utmost limits of perfection? If Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister, and, in the face of some threatening calamity here, folded his hands, and said there was nothing to be done or attempted, I think I could tell you what would become of Lord Salisbury. But it is impracticable to complain without suggesting a remedy. The one here evidently is that, in future, the Secretary of State should, before accepting office, be examined as to his knowledge of Indian affairs. The examination need not be made a hard one. If, for instance, Lord Salisbury again became a candidate for office, he might be interrogated as to the bearing of tanks and wells on famine; whether the people have the means of saving so as to feed themselves in times of famine, and, if so, what these means consist of; whether they can emigrate when the worst comes to the worst, and, if so, where. In the case of the Duke of Argyll becoming a candidate, he might be advantageously asked some questions in arithmetic, and whether it would pay the State to acquire her railways. Should Mr. Lowe, who has lately been writing on India in the *Fortnightly*, become a candidate, he might be asked whether India has ever contributed to the English Treasury. And, if the examination papers and answers were published, they would at least teach the public what opinions it was not advisable to hold on Indian affairs, and some approach would thus be made to a sound knowledge of the most rudimentary facts relating to them.

One word more. What is the grand difficulty as regards successfully ruling India? Ignorance of the country and the wants of the people, and therefore an imperfect conception of what should be done. There is, too, no method in the thoughts

of those who govern. With them civilisation is not only to emanate from above, but percolate downwards. They have taken the crowning points of our civilisation, plastered them on the surface of Indian life, and are now waiting for the propagation of the germs. They may wait for ever. The object of this lecture is to prove that this is not the true method. Civilisation, to be permanent, must be evolved from the base, and the base of civilisation is the safety of life. Till measures are adopted which will secure that end, our Indian Empire must ever continue to be what it now is, merely a costly sham. I have shown what can be done to rescue it from the quagmire into which it is rapidly sinking, and, if the common sense of the great English people could be brought to act, I should have some hopes that my suggestions would yield fruit, for the good of England and of those helpless masses of India amongst whom I have spent the best years of my life. But I fear this cannot be. The importance of what I have urged will be seen when it is too late. My suggestions and warnings may indeed some day come to light, but I fear it will only be when some future historian digs this lecture out of the records of your Society, and points to it as one of many instances to prove that every Indian calamity that has come upon us has been amply foretold, but foretold to no purpose whatever.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS (late a member of the Bombay Council) said: I have to congratulate the Institute on the ability with which Mr. Elliot has set forth his views on the subject of Indian famines and the measures which should be adopted to modify them. He has gone over such a great number of topics that it would lead me to write an essay if I were to touch upon them all. Therefore I hope I shall be excused if I merely take the most prominent points. I think the best way to bring the attention of the Institute to these different points will be to take them in the order in which he mentioned them in his paper. I am happy to say in a great many instances I am entirely at one with Mr. Elliot, but I cannot say that this is the case with all of them. He has not been in official life in India, and therefore I think he takes a very hard view of what government in India is. I have been an official all my life almost, and therefore to some extent my remarks may be looked upon as an official protest against what Mr. Elliot has said. I still hope in the course of my remarks you will find that I am not

so entirely official as to be prejudiced, and that I am open to conviction on many points. Mr. Elliot commences by mentioning the extraordinary rate of increase of the Indian population, and he dates from this that in a very short time India will be quite unable to meet the cost of future famines. The population of course is very large indeed, and the increase is rapid, but I am inclined to think that the rate of increase he lays down is rather in excess of what is the actual fact, because, although he points to various circumstances which tend to increase the population very rapidly, he has not noticed others which tend the other way. I think it would be found, if we had statistics sufficient to go through, that the system of early marriages and other causes lead not to such a very rapid increase of population as in European countries. Another point to be considered is that the rate of mortality is very great, especially that of infants. The first objection I have to make to Mr. Elliot's statement is with regard to the finances of India, which I do not think he has stated quite correctly. He says that the published account of the revenues of India gives the total amount as £51,810,068, but by deducting various items from that sum he reduces the total to £38,251,560 as the value of the revenue on which we can rely as a permanency. The balance is made up chiefly of £8,471,425, derived from opium; and the residue, he says, consists of items which are matters of account. That is not exactly the case. I find from the statement I hold in my hand that the items he has omitted comprise items which are certainly items of revenue, which can be fairly relied upon every year. One very large item is that of the army, which is over one million. The marine and various other items he has omitted, with this, make up some £8,810,000, which is a large addition to the £38,000,000 which he says we can alone rely upon. Then with regard to the opium, he seems to predict that we cannot rely upon the income from that source as a permanent source of revenue. I do not think that this is such a weak source of revenue as he considers it. The Chinese are, it is true, growing opium extensively, but inasmuch as that got from India is of a better quality than they can themselves produce, and is therefore a luxury, so long as the Chinese like good opium they will get it from India, until such time as they find the way to grow opium of the quality they like. The next point he touches is that with regard to railways, and he says: "The idea that railways can solve the grand problem has often been entertained. I need hardly say that it is delusive. Railways can indeed modify a slight scarcity by carrying grain from one part of the country to another." No doubt that

is the case, but if it had not been for railways we should not have met the famines in Bombay last year and Madras in this. With regard to canals, Mr. Elliot states: "It would have been much better for India if much that has been spent on railways had been laid out on canals." I think that is fallacious. I do not think anything has been spent on railways which ought not to have been spent. All the railways constructed in India are practically important. If you look at them on the map you will see that they join the chief seats of Government—Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; and there are other great lines of railway of equally political and strategical value. More important lines you cannot possibly conceive. On the question of canals, he says, that no Government would care to run the risk of the enormous liabilities that would be incurred in India in carrying out more works of irrigation by canals. He has enlarged in other places on the importance of irrigation in India, and I fully concur with him. Irrigation in India would not prevent famines, but it would in many places go far towards mitigating their effects. I will go further on the subject of expenditure on irrigation in India than he has. He is of opinion that the Government should spend as much as it can from its current resources. I would go further than that and say, wherever schemes are found to be necessary, that they should borrow money for the purpose. Although I do not consider irrigation a panacea for the prevention of famines in India, there is no doubt it is a most important thing. I speak not only with regard to irrigation from canals, but with regard to irrigation from tanks and wells. Emigration is another point on which he has touched. I agree with him to a certain extent. It is the case in some parts of the country that the population is too great for the land; but, notwithstanding all the encouragement given, we find emigration takes place to a very limited extent. I have known parts of the country over-populated and close to them others inadequately populated with rich soil in abundance, yet the people of the former could not be induced to emigrate to the latter. No doubt eventually emigration will take place to a certain extent; but I trust it will take the form of the surplus population of one part of the country emigrating to another part of India itself. I now come to a very important point, on which Mr. Elliot seems to be misinformed. His great object is to attract capital to the soil; but possibly he may not be aware of the efforts the Government itself has made in this direction. In Mysore, I believe, the settlement of the land is being carried on on the system of the Bombay survey. Now the main principle of that survey is, that the cul-

tivator, the proprietor of the soil, should have the benefit of all improvements that he makes.

Mr. ELLIOT: I was quite aware of that; but it does not answer its purpose.

Mr. ROGERS: I hold in my hand a copy of the Act of the Bombay Legislature, from which I would take the liberty of reading a single section, which will show that the benefit of all improvements is not only granted to the cultivator of the soil by the word of Government, but secured to him by the Act of the Legislature: "Such revised assessment (*i.e.* at the expiration of the guaranteed term of thirty years) shall be fixed, not with reference to improvements made by the owners or occupants from private capital and resources during the currency of any settlement under this Act, but with reference to general considerations of the value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce, or facilities of communication." Now that is a distinct legal guarantee given by Government that the benefit of all improvements made or carried out by a cultivator shall be secured to him not only for thirty years, but from generation to generation for ever. I believe in England it is thought rather a liberal tenure when a lease is given for twenty-one years. At the end of that time the rent is liable to be increased, in consideration of the improvements the tenant has made with his own capital. Here in India, with a guarantee of thirty years that there shall be no increase to the assessments placed upon land, at the end of that time if a tenant has improved his land in any way—such, for instance, as by turning his dry crops into wet ones—he gets the full benefit of his improvements for ever. The Government, therefore, is not to blame in that matter. With regard to the next point, which is "to amend the laws which press so heavily on the indebted cultivator;" to a certain extent there is no doubt that this is the case, and laws have been passed in advance of the civilisation of the people. There is a law which was passed some years ago which I object to; and the distress which has taken place among the ryots of Bombay is mainly due to it. It is this, that under the old law the currency of a bond was for twelve years, whereas under the new law a bond must be enforced within three years of its date. This was done with the laudable motive that the people should be forced to look to the state of their account at short intervals, and see how they were getting on. It has had the very contrary effect. The usurers have found out that they have been forced by this alteration of law to bring their creditors into court every three years, and the unscrupulous among them have taken advantage of it to increase their demands. That is to

say, a money-lender holding a bond of 100 rupees at the end of three years would call upon his debtor not only to pay the 100 rupees, upon penalty of being carried to the law court, but would be very likely to force him to give him a bond for 200 rupees or 300 rupees. There is no doubt that this has had a detrimental effect. One late amendment in the law I may mention as highly beneficial. It was the law until lately that the cultivator's implements and his cattle were liable to be seized for debt. That has been altered by the new Civil Procedure Code, which has already come into force, so that the cultivator's cattle and his farm implements will be saved from seizure. It will tend to a certain extent to shake his credit; and I think that the more his credit is shaken, so as to prevent him going into luxuries, the better. His luxuries, I may say, are not those which we should consider luxuries. He does not go into a large house, or wear better clothes, but he becomes more extravagant in providing caste entertainments on occasions of marriages, deaths, and events of that kind. Mr. Elliot also objects to the breaking up of grazing lands as tending to wasteful cultivation. I can give an instance of the very opposite effect on the breaking up of grazing lands. In the Collectorate of Broach, in the Bombay Presidency, there are, I think, between 90 and 95 acres out of every 100 of actual area under cultivation. That leaves very little room for grazing indeed, and the result is that there are very few cattle, but the cattle they have are the finest in the whole province. The people there are forced to preserve grass as much as they can, and stall-feed their cattle, so that the result of the breaking up of grazing lands there, at least, has been the very opposite of the effect Mr. Elliot ascribes to the process.

Mr. ELLIOT: May I ask if the number of cattle kept was not very small in comparison with acreage?

Mr. ROGERS: There are plenty of cattle to carry on the cultivation. However, as the time allowed me for speaking has expired, I must sit down, and thank you for your patient attention. (Cheers.)

Colonel GEORGE CHESNEY, R.E., said: I came to this meeting with no intention whatever of speaking upon the subject; in fact, I have not had the advantage of seeing Mr. Elliot's paper before we heard it read, and was not therefore apprised of the mode in which he would treat the subject. Consequently, I feel under a great disadvantage in venturing to address you this evening, and should certainly not have proposed to do so if I had not been named by the Chair; and, considering the large nature of the subject, and

the caution I see posted up against the wall as to the very limited quantity of time available, I feel it would be almost hopeless to endeavour to say anything that would be of much practical utility. But I will merely make this observation, in the first instance, that it is quite impossible to exaggerate the importance of the subject, or to take too strained a view of the nature of the calamity which has now fallen upon India. I do not think that by any means too much has been heard about this famine; indeed, that the people of England at all adequately realise what India has gone through. Even now we find that a murder next door, or a burglary over the way, creates more sensation, or rather interest, in England than the deaths by famine, or by inundation, or by some other dreadful catastrophe of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects in that country. As our noble Chairman observed to me just now during dinner, a few years ago a population as large as that of Norfolk, and a country as large as that county, were covered in a few minutes by a wave of the sea, and nearly 200,000 people are believed to have perished in one night. Yet that catastrophe scarcely occupied more than a few paragraphs of the daily newspapers. And yet, great as this present calamity has been, you would be surprised perhaps to hear that, as an actual matter of fact, there has been no famine in India; that is to say, there has been no famine in this sense of the word, that India at every point of time during the last two years has been able to produce sufficient food to feed all the people; and that is a great deal more than you can say of England. England at this moment imports one-third of its food from abroad. And if, for any reason, whether from a disastrous war or any other cause, England were unable to obtain that supply of food from other countries, then England would really be in a state of famine. But India has not only been able to supply sufficient food for the whole of its population; during this famine it has been constantly exporting food to Europe. How is it, then, if this be the case, that millions of people of India have been undergoing such terrible sufferings from want of food? One of the reasons is this: that whereas we in England are most of us not engaged in the production of food—most of us in this room, for example, produce no food ourselves—we gain our livelihood in other ways, and we purchase food from other people. The great mass of the people of India are occupied from their cradle to their grave simply in producing food for themselves, not to sell, and not to export, but simply in order themselves to eat what they grow themselves; and if their own particular crop fails them, they have no means of buying food from anybody else. That is the condition of India. That

is how it happens, that if a crop fails, an enormous number of people must either starve to death, or be fed by the action of Government. How then is it possible to meet in the future the possibility of a recurrence of these catastrophes? There seems to be, so far as I can see, only one way, and that is, to divert by such means as you can the occupations of the country into different channels, and to enable the people to grow food and other commodities, not for themselves, but for other people. That is to say, I believe that you must stimulate the productions of the country, so that men may produce not only sufficient for themselves, but sufficient to sell to other nations; in other words, you must do all you can to develop a great export trade. Now an export trade, I need hardly say, is only possible if you have the means of exporting your produce. That is, of course, a mere truism; without railways and roads a great export trade for India is impossible. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I conceive that, quite apart from the ordinary aspect of the utility of railways, they are an absolute necessity if famines are to be rendered impossible for the future. (Hear, hear.) Further, although I think that the value of irrigation work as a means of preventing famine may be exaggerated, and that it may quite possibly be found in certain parts of India that irrigation works, although highly beneficial in most seasons if carefully designed, may yet fail you in times of necessity, nevertheless, the value of irrigation works cannot be over-estimated on this account, that they enable the people to lay by in good years, and so to provide for the bad. (Hear, hear.) It is quite true, as stated by Lord Salisbury—who had, we may remember, the best information at his disposal when he said so—that tanks in certain parts of India will dry up just at the critical period when they are most wanted; but, on the other hand, they will tend to increase largely the agricultural produce of the country in good years. They will enable the people to grow wheat for Europe, and so enable them to accumulate money, and then in bad seasons, instead of being paupers, they would be able to tide over the time of scarcity. It must be in some sort of way as this that we may hope to see India brought up by degrees to the level in that respect of the countries of the West. (Applause.)

Mr. T. B. POTTER, M.P. : When I came here to-night, I came to learn from Mr. Elliot, and in the expectation of hearing rather a different story to what we have heard from him. I do not pretend myself to have had any great opportunities, except within the last few months, of learning much on the subject of India; but I lately met a very intelligent man, who had been some thirty years

in Madras, and he has been my informant; and I recently desired to call the attention of my own constituency, and of the British public, to what I think is a very great danger. Instead of hearing from Mr. Elliot a better account than I had received from my friend from Madras, he has depicted matters there in a much more gloomy character than I had heard before. I came, thinking, perhaps, I should have to defend myself for having spoken so strongly as I did a month ago at Rochdale; but from what Mr. Elliot has told us, I think I hardly spoke strongly enough. Now, as regards this question of irrigation, which I thought was one by no means conceded to the extent it is by our friends in India, I sent out a series of questions to natives of Madras and Mysore through the gentleman who has been my informant. Those questions were mainly with the view to learn what the opinions of those people were on an extended system of irrigation, and what means they considered best for putting them into operation. Now, I have had nine replies to those questions. Most of them were far beyond my comprehension, being in the Tamil and Telugu languages; but my friend came to my aid and translated them, and although I have the translations in my pocket, I am not going to trouble you with them. I may say, summing up the general tone of the letters, which are from cultivators, landowners, and others, engaged in collecting the land-tax, that they all agree in stating that the tanks in their neighbourhood are very much "silted up," and that no effort is made to deepen, strengthen, or repair them. They advocate channel and river dams as the most sure method of keeping the tanks full from the flushes, instead of depending upon the monsoon rains entirely. They advocate wells where they can be made, and they are said to be most beneficial in assisting the growers of dry crops, who are an enormous body, and far exceed the rice-growers in number, though I was not prepared for the statement of Mr. Elliot that four-fifths of the food of the people of Mysore and Madras consisted of the coarser grains. Wells would be more frequently made if Government were a little more liberal in their system of loans to the ryots to enable them to dig them. They pay interest on advances, and a good well costs from £10 to £20, which is a large sum for a poor ryot. The unanimous opinions of these letters is, that the ryots must grow more grain and reserve some for times of famine, as they formerly did, and for this object an increased water supply is required. For the present, for the immediate improvement in the condition of the ryot, the partial remission of the land-tax is advocated by many. I am told that in some parts of Madras there are peculiar facilities for

the storage of water, owing to the favourable course of the rivers Cauvery and Palaur. I am not myself inclined to advocate any gigantic schemes by large loans for great irrigation works; I am inclined to think that a great deal can be done by our collectors and local Residents co-operating with natives in their own localities to construct small tanks and wells. (Hear, hear.) I believe that in former days this system of co-operation was carried out to a greater extent than it is now, because the time of residence of our English collectors was much longer, and consequently they had larger opportunities of becoming acquainted with the wants and desires of the native people. You know with regard to irrigation there are countries not dissimilar to India which may teach us a lesson. I believe the irrigation of California, which is generally carried out by iron-piping, is on an immense scale, both for hydraulic works and for the production of crops. Of course I do not undervalue the use of railways, but I do not think railways alone would meet with the success which railways and irrigation together would. (Hear, hear.) I am bound to say, as far as my communications from Madras inform me, I have not heard the land system very much complained of; and I think the thirty years' settlement which has been conceded is a great boon. No special question was put to my informants, but it does not appear that they consider the land tenure as such a monstrous evil. Now, with regard to Madras, things have been very bad; but is it not possible that in Madras the famine organisation was not equal to what it was in the Presidency of Bombay? I hope that such a calamity as the famine in Madras may never occur again. There are many circumstances which militated against the success of the action of the administration. We find that in Bombay arrangements were made which have been more successful in dealing with the famine. I should be sorry to speak in any manner invidiously of any individual, but still one cannot doubt that the Governor of Madras had not that experience in India which aided Sir Philip Wodehouse in Bombay. There is one lesson which we may all learn from these famines. It seems to me that the Colonial Institute, particularly, might take a most useful step if it would consider the great danger in our Crown Colonies and Dependencies, as well as in India, of doing anything which directly or indirectly tends to diminish the food of the people, or burden it with taxation and obstacles to production. The direct tax on food in India is through the land-tax and the salt-tax; but in other parts in the east, as in Ceylon, we levy a tax on the importation of food, and we tax, by an inland excise, the growth of food in that country,

and we commit also the extraordinary anomaly of farming that food tax to middle men. In other parts—in Malta—we levy on the food of the people the largest portion of the revenue. My own impression is this, that the best security for Government, and for the interests of nations altogether, is as far as possible to remove burdens from the food of the people. (Hear, hear.) Look at the position we are in at home to-day, after the very worst harvest that we have known for years, it being both bad and deficient in quantity. I was talking yesterday with a large corn-dealer from Liverpool. He said, "We are deluged with Indian and American wheat." We have plenty in England instead of scarcity and famine, and John Bull is contented when well fed.

Hon. HENRY WESTMORLAND (Jamaica) said he would confine his observations to one remedy that had been alluded to in the interesting paper that had just been read as calculated to remove the causes of famine in India—emigration—though Mr. Elliot had dismissed the subject in a very summary way. He said you cannot send all the surplus population away, so it is no use entertaining the question. It reminded him of an unthinking widow of his acquaintance who rejected the offer of a sincere friend of her late husband to educate one of her boys because he did not propose to act similarly towards the whole family. He thought that the West Indies could relieve India of some of her surplus population. He had resided in Jamaica for nearly forty years, where he had had much experience with Indian immigrants; and in mentioning the name of that Colony he felt assured of the attention of the noble Chairman, who had been of so much service to this Institute, from the circumstance of his Grace's grandfather having been for about twenty years Governor of Jamaica, by far the longest period that any man had occupied that position since its conquest about 220 years ago. During the last 25 years the British West India Colonies had introduced about 175,000 coolies from India, besides those taken by the French and Dutch, of which he was unable to obtain an accurate account. And they had done this under discouraging circumstances, for the Indian Government had given no assistance—he might almost say had discouraged it; and therefore it was impossible that undue means could have been used to persuade the people to leave their country; indeed, had oppression been practised, or even attempted, the Indian Government would have only been too glad of the opportunity of putting a stop to a system they quietly, but not openly, opposed. He was, therefore, much surprised to hear the first speaker say that the people of India were so opposed to emigration that they would not even

leave poor and dry districts in India itself to come to rich and seasonable localities. Surely, if they would come across the sea some 12,000 miles, if proper means were used they could be persuaded to remove from one part of their own country to another. But he would show that some of our first statesmen had recently given opinions that emigration was one means of relieving India from surplus population, as shown by a debate that took place in the House of Lords so recently as in July of the present year. But before quoting from *Hansard*—as he intended to refer to a speech of Lord Salisbury—he must protest against Mr. Elliot's repeated charges of ignorance displayed by that nobleman, who now holds the important office of Secretary of State for India. Although that distinguished statesman might not possess Mr. Elliot's personal knowledge of India, yet he (Mr. Westmorland) believed that Lord Salisbury was advised by a strong Council, composed of men who had spent the best part of their lives in India performing important duties, and who were well able to give his lordship sound advice in all matters relating to that important possession of the British Crown, and he therefore attached the greatest importance to whatever fell from Lord Salisbury. In the debate he had referred to, Lord Salisbury said "his belief was that an increase of emigration from India would tend, perhaps distantly and slowly, to an amelioration of the condition of the labouring population of that country. The peasantry were in a state of deep poverty, but it was a poverty from which there was very little hope of escape. He did not say that emigration would cure it suddenly, but in other countries they had the fact that emigration not only relieved the persons who emigrated, but it stimulated the population to make an effort to extricate themselves from the position of poverty in which they lived; it gave a new life and energy to their thoughts." Lord Salisbury was followed by Lord Northbrook, who was recently Governor-General, who said "he could assure their lordships that the feeling of the Government of India was in favour of a properly-regulated system of emigration, and they would have no hesitation in acceding to any satisfactory proposals that were made for that purpose. It was the duty of the Government to procure complete protection for the Indian emigrants with regard to their health, subsistence, and security of their wages. If these precautions were taken, the Government of India would be prepared to give every facility for carrying out a scheme of emigration from India to the West India Colonies." Lord Northbrook was followed by the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who observed: "It was satisfactory to see ad

mitted on all sides that if you had a large and redundant population on the one hand, and a great want of labour on the other, it was only a reasonable and wise course to promote a removal. Whatever evils might have resulted in former times in respect to coolie emigration, these evils had been effectually neutralised, and legislation of the most careful and minute pattern had been passed for that particular object." Now, it would seem to him from these speeches that emigration from India was not to be so lightly thought of as was proposed that night by Mr. Elliot; and if the advocates of railways, irrigation, and emigration would put their heads together, some good results might follow their deliberations. And it must be borne in mind that the emigrants to the West India Colonies are now in large numbers remaining permanent settlers in those Colonies, and not availing themselves of the back passages they are entitled to, affording substantial proof that they have been well cared for during their indentures, and indisputable evidence that they consider their new country preferable to their old, whilst those who go back carry with them large savings; and these facts, he believed, when circulated among the labouring population of India, would have the effect of stimulating emigration from that over-populated country. In Trinidad the coolies are eagerly taking the grants of land offered; and in Jamaica there is abundance of land at the disposal of the Crown, and which is annually increasing by forfeiture for non-payment of quit rents, which would afford ample scope for a large, free emigration from India, in addition to the present system of indentured labour. In suggesting such a measure he disclaimed all intention of interference with the present native population—there was room for both, and plenty of it. Jamaica had only 120 to the square mile, whilst in Trinidad it was only about 60. This limited occupation it was very desirable to supplement, and he believed there were others of the West India Colonies that would gladly receive East Indians, and where they would greatly improve their present position, as described by Lord Salisbury. In Jamaica the labouring part of the population were gradually withdrawing from the cultivation of the great staples which caused the circulation of so much money, and unless that circulation was kept up, nay, was increased, Government would not obtain sufficient revenue to continue the civilisation of the natives of that island, and its internal improvement. In conclusion, he thanked his Grace, the chairman, and the members of the Colonial Institute for the kind attention that had been given whilst he was speaking.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE: Instead of referring to the general subject I

would rather address myself to a few remarks of the last speaker. With regard to the question of emigration from India, we must bear in mind that India is not a country in the same sense as one of the European countries; but it is a region or continent like Europe itself, with many diverse countries and populations, and it is very difficult to discuss any questions of this kind without reference to local peculiarities of each part of that enormous region. Therefore, I think it is possible to find an explanation of the facts which the last speaker has referred to without casting any blame on the Government of India. There is a certain portion of the population which does emigrate, which is disposed to emigrate, and there are certain portions of the population which, unfortunately, cannot be removed. Colonel Chesney has referred to some practical facts connected with the general subject, and more particularly to the necessity, in the first instance, of improving the means of transport, and enabling not only commodities, but persons, to move from one part of the country to another. While allowing the value of irrigation in full, it is of paramount importance not to neglect this means of communication to which he has referred, because there can be no question for anyone who has practically examined the subject, that there are difficulties which do limit irrigation, and which do not allow it to be carried out for the purposes of navigation to the full extent which has been claimed by some of its advocates. The remarks which a speaker had made contained, in fact, the key to the question of the improvement of India. We must use every means which may tend towards that advancement, whether it be by railways, by irrigation, or, as the last speaker said, by means of emigration. There is one encouraging circumstance in connection with the progress of India which does not meet with sufficient attention, and that is the effect of an advance in prices. As transport increases, so will the market price of commodities advance. Take, for instance, the wheat districts: the effect of the improvement of transport must be to increase the price on the spot. As that is done persons will obtain and receive a surplus of exchangeable value which will enable them to purchase. If we look at the great increase in wages and prices which has taken place in India within the last twenty years, more particularly since the railway system has been introduced, we see that the means of many of the population have been increased thereby at least fourfold. It is beyond question to expect that persons who have a low money price for commodities should be in the position to purchase the foreign commodities which are at a different price. Now, the effect of an improved

transport over land in the first instance is to bring the commodities down to the sea; and the effect of that extension of sea-transport which we now have will be to equalise prices so as to raise prices in India, and thereby to alter very materially the commercial and social condition of the population. It has been too truly stated that it is a subject that is wide, and one which is not to be discussed within the limits assigned here to the speaker, and that must be my excuse for not trespassing upon your time longer. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CAPEL HANBURY: One can but sincerely deplore the calamity that has befallen our Indian Empire, and, recognising first of all that the agency that caused it is a power to whom in humble submission we have appealed to, and not in vain, for its remittance, our wisest course is to discover the best means to prevent, by the aid of a higher power, such a scourge as this has been from devastating, should it occur again, to the extent this famine has. The means of transit should be improved and extended, so that, when it takes place again, it will be easier to send relief to distressed parts than it has at present been able to do; and also irrigation works should be extended more over India. As a subsidiary argument, but not perhaps of such importance as the two first I have mentioned, I would adduce emigration. I have been surprised myself at not seeing a suggestion of Sir Julius Vogel's in a letter I read in one of the daily papers not more discussed—viz. if I understand him correctly, that, if a tide of emigration were to set in from India to Australia, it might be for the mutual advantage of both countries, so far as the colonists themselves would sanction it. I am told the great difficulty in the way, as far as India is concerned, is "caste"; but I cannot but think, in such a vital question as this must be to her welfare, that this question of emigration will not be lost sight of. I can but think myself that in the northern areas of South Australia might be found a climate adapting itself to the Indian climate, and where there are regions, I believe, still now undeveloped; besides which it would be carrying out the practical idea that, as parts of one great united Empire, we should work together in promoting the welfare of every part, as Australia has substantially shown by subscribing as she has to the Famine Fund, and, previously, to the Crimean war.

Mr. HALE: I do not know that I should have addressed the meeting, but the subject of railways in India, which is so important, has been alluded to, and bears considerably on the matter of famines. I think Mr. Rogers stated that there was nothing in the way of extravagance or waste as regards railways in India. I differ with

him, and I hope that in future the gauge of railways in India will be less. I largely agree with what Mr. Elliot said in his able paper, that railways more or less had a good deal to do in bringing up the grain in the time of the late famine; but I differ with him in this respect—he more or less blames the Duke of Argyll for not purchasing those railways which the Government of India could have purchased. The main ground on which he makes that complaint is this—that the Government could work them so much more cheaply than private Boards, if the Boards were done away with. It is a very different thing, I take it, the matter of railways in this country and in India. The East India Railway, which has now got into proper trim, is working at something like 80 per cent. of its gross receipts. The average in this country (England) is something like 50 per cent. of the gross receipts, and the East India Railway is carrying its passengers and goods at considerably less than our lines in this country; and I find fault with Mr. Elliot's argument that in this country the State taking the railways might work them more cheaply, because a system of scandalous competition is keeping millions annually out of the English railway shareholders' pockets, whereas in India competition is almost unknown. Therefore I differ with Mr. Elliot in his dogmatism about the State working the railways cheaper in India than they are now worked. My idea about India is more or less that education and manufactures are much needed there to improve the natives, and that the mineral and other wealth of the country is very great; if industrial establishments were numerous, they would bring India into a state which I believe would be highly beneficial, and would develop a large and important middle class much needed in India; and it occurs to me that the produce of India might be of a more satisfactory and valuable kind than it now generally is.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I have never been in India; but on that ground I do not think I am more disqualified to speak upon the subject than, at all events, the majority of Her Majesty's Ministers, or about ninety-nine out of every hundred of the members of the House of Commons. There are several points of this subject to which general principles may be applied, even if you are not intimately acquainted with details; and there are some points of Mr. Elliot's paper to which I should like to direct attention. The first point is that in which he says the financial condition of India is such that it must eventually be unable to meet the cost of famines. That, in my opinion, is disregarding that well-known advice of Artemus Ward, "Never prophesy unless you know." (Laughter.) Now it is impossible for any man to state at the present time what

the revenue of India will be in twenty years hence. It is also impossible for any man to say what the state of cultivation will be. I believe that, if some of the suggestions made by Mr. Elliot in the latter part of his paper are carried out, vast improvements may be effected in India and in the state of the people there which would entirely upset the very dismal prophecy he has made. He has alluded to the misery of the population; and the causes which have led to it he has clearly and conclusively pointed out. He states the revenue. Mr. Rogers pointed out that there were some matters omitted in the account of the revenue which ought to be added. I would remark that Mr. Elliot has taken into consideration several matters of revenue which ought not, strictly speaking, to be considered as matters of revenue, and that these might be very fairly set against those which Mr. Rogers says ought to be included, and, setting the one against the other, we may say that the one about balances with the other. The items I refer to are such as post-office, telegraphs, law, and justice. There are corresponding items on the other side of the ledger, and therefore they are not, or ought not to be, considered as sources from which revenue is raised, and very seldom are so considered. The next point is that of tenure of land. Mr. Rogers read a clause from the Indian Act showing the terms on which the land was let to the natives, and showing that they were far more favourable than those stated by Mr. Elliot. Certainly the statements of Mr. Rogers are far more satisfactory, but there is not in the clause read by Mr. Rogers that fixity or certainty of tenure which would induce any wise capitalist to embark his money, as the circumstances affecting the land, on which rent is to be paid to the Government, are to be reviewed periodically; and, although the clause points out that, with respect to improvements made by the occupier of the land, the rate to be charged by the State should not be directly raised on account of those improvements made by the occupier, yet we know perfectly well that the wording of that clause is left large enough to enable the Government to get a very large portion indeed of that which Mr. John Stuart Mill calls the "unearned increment," being that increased value of the land which is given by the general improvements in the neighbourhood, and which the State could value under that clause. Therefore, if improver A is not charged the value of his improvements, the question is whether B is charged anything on account of the improvements which A has made, and A is again charged on account of the increased value which has been given to his land by the improvements made by his surrounding neighbours. I do not say that the Government has done that;

but, when the time comes round for re-valuing the land, the Government will, if hard up, most assuredly do it. In respect to the improvements, the certainty of tenure, and the allowance for improvements, that which Mr. Elliot refers to is that which all the Australian Governments have adopted for years past—that of allowing the pastoral lessees a liberal compensation for the improvements they have effected on their runs; and anyone who has seen the improvements effected by squatters on their runs, although not done for the benefit of other people, yet the indirect advantage which has accrued to other people from the improvements so effected, is perfectly justified in believing that a similar result would most probably follow from the adoption of a similar course in India. A great deal has been said about tanks; I do not believe that tanks alone would settle the famine question, or railways or telegraphs either; but we know that in Australia enormous tracts of land are now yielding large revenues to the Government, and that enormous exports are sent out of the country solely through the liberal terms granted by the Government to their pastoral lessees for the construction of wells, tanks, and reservoirs. If that is the result which follows from such a liberal system in Australia, it may also follow in India. Then we hear from an Indian officer that the nature of the climate may be affected by the general construction of tanks. I will give an instance in support of this. It is well known that the general nature of large tracts of land has considerably altered in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal through the large amount of moisture which the opening of that Canal has brought into the isthmus. An engineer officer, however, appears to suggest that tanks ought not to be built because they might fail in times of drought. That may be, but no man objects to buy a bottle of wine solely because when he has drank the wine he cannot swallow the bottle. (Great laughter.) On the same principle I say you should not refuse to construct tanks because once in a long series of years they might be empty, nor should you consider that one scheme alone will entirely remedy the disease. I will conclude with a few general remarks, and I would say that, though I am not an admirer of Mr. Gladstone in any way except as an orator, still there is one point on which I think he is entirely right, that is (Mr. Elliot has hinted at it very plainly) that in the future management of India (I believe it will be found to be the true remedy) we must apply to the Government of India those principles we apply to ourselves, those principles which we have applied throughout the whole of our great Colonies of Australia, South Africa, Canada, and several others, and also which we have seen the great United

States of America apply to themselves—that is, the glorious principle of local self-government. I am not a Radical in any way. I do not believe in adopting any system which would make any great change of the kind at once; but I believe that is the true point that we must look to. Mr. Elliot puts it forward plainly, that we ought to substitute the labour of cheap Indians for that of expensive Europeans; but I would like to ask him, “What shall we do with our boys?” (Laughter.) India is at the present time the great receptacle for the young men of the United Kingdom. The family living is no longer the natural inheritance of the “fool of the family.” The Army and Navy—every department is subjected to competitive examination, which is asserted to bring out the best men, though it very frequently fails to do it. But if we adopt Mr. Elliott’s plan no doubt there will be an end of the present prospects of the young men of this country; but it is a system we must adopt eventually, and we must look to it as a question that will arise in the future. We find Indians coming over here. Go to any of our great seats of learning, you will see numbers of Indians; they study our laws, our institutions, inspect our factories, see everything that is done here, the produce of the most lavish expenditure and of the highest talent that money can procure. They go back to India, and if they do not directly and immediately bring their knowledge to bear, you cannot keep water continually dropping on the stone but you will wear it away at last; and therefore, if you continue to pour into India the men who have seen the working of our institutions and the success attending them, they will endeavour, sooner or later, to bring a similar state of things about in India. I believe that can be done, still retaining the sovereignty over that great country. I believe if you adopt Mr. Elliot’s suggestion, and look to levelling up and not levelling down, that you will see throughout the whole of that vast peninsula that the flag of England will float over a happy, prosperous, and contented people. (Cheers.)

Mrs. AMELIA LEWIS expressed her sympathy with Mr. Elliot, who had discussed a great question which was now occupying attention in England, viz. What should be done to avert starvation among the people committed to the care of the English. The question should be looked at in the aggregate, and not piecemeal. It should be considered that a famine existed, that the means were not adequate to provide for the people, and means should be adopted to ameliorate such a state of things. So terrible are famines, that if a remedy were not at once found, not the present, perhaps, but the

generation to come would bear the brunt of lesser vitality in averting them.

Mr. R. PRICE: We must regret that Lords Northbrook and Lawrence are not here to-night. Had they been, I think we should have had a counter-statement to that which has fallen from Mr. Elliot. I understood him to say that one of his proposals was the giving tenures of fee-simple to tenant farmers, on condition that they irrigated their farms. I want to know what he would do if those tenants did not carry out those irrigation works? Does he intend that the Government should then call in these grants of fee-simple tenure, and let the farms to other people, or not? Then, again, I think he has hardly done justice to several public men—Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Argyll, and Mr. Lowe; he has shown a great deal of rancour towards them. Whatever his qualification may be for speaking of the country and inhabitants of Mysore, I think we may be excused if we show a little jealousy when we hear him speaking of public men in the tone he has done. They are in office by favour of the constituencies of England, and we may assume that they do know more than the generality of people and those who have only had a limited area of observation. With regard to railways, I was in hopes that when Mr. Elliot spoke of Mr. Macnaughten he would have made reference to the speech of Mr. Crawford, who, as Chairman of the East Indian Railway, stated that Indian railways had by no means failed, and that Indian irrigation works were not of equal value. The speech of Mr. Crawford should be studied by all who wanted to understand what railways had done for India. Lord Salisbury or Lord George Hamilton, I forget which, made a statistical account of the quantity of rice and other food which had been carried, and showed that but for the enormous mass taken by railways, the famine must have been many times worse than it was. Mr. Elliot made another remark: he said that, as the Indian railways were held mostly in England, the best way would be for the Government to assume their guarantee. Now, as a shareholder, I say I did not lend my money upon the Imperial guarantee, but I say I lent it upon the Indian guarantee; and although my pocket would be benefited if I got an Imperial guarantee, I say it would be an injustice to give it me when I only bargained for an Indian guarantee. If the Government do that, they ought to require from us something in return for the increased security. I am old enough to remember when Colonel Sibthorp got up in the House of Commons, when the Indian Railway Bill was before Parliament, and said this is practically a very dear way of raising money, for “I

never will believe that the President of Control sitting on that bench should be bankrupt, and his colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer sitting next to him shall be solvent." That may be true, but to offer us now, after we have advanced our money upon the Indian guarantee, would be an injustice to the taxpayer, unless we give something in return for the increased security. Mr. Elliot said he thought the Government should provide capital for modern mills, so as to teach the natives to manufacture cotton and other goods. If that is to be so, why not everything else? I say that it is contrary to all economic principles to say that the Government are to undertake that. I was sorry Mr. Potter made no reference to that, and also to the question of the repeal of the Cotton Duty. Lord Salisbury said, with reference to irrigation works, that the difficulty they had was the enormous loss arising from them—I forget how many thousands the loss was on irrigation works in India at this time; therefore there is not much inducement for the Government to undertake these works as a paying industry; and their experience was that the natives would not come to buy the water for irrigation purposes unless there was a famine, and the cost of keeping up those works until the famine comes would be enormous. There was a better saying of Lord Palmerston's than that of Artemus Ward's; he said, "Don't prophesy till after the event." I think that the last paragraph of Mr. Elliot's paper was that his lecture would be dug out of the records of this Institute on some future occasion, and then it would be found that he was a prophet of the ills to come. I much fear there will be very little done for India until the hobbyists have done with their hobbies. It is these particular gentlemen who come here with some local knowledge, who think one plan will remedy all the ills in India, while some think another; while others, more wise, take a wider view of what is due to India. Railways and emigration, telegraphs, &c., to say that any one of these things can do it singly is not common sense; all of them will help—not one alone—to bring that prosperity to India which we all have so much at heart, as one thing alone would be foolish. (Hear, hear.)

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: There are only one or two points to which I should like to allude. Mr. Strangways criticised the tenure of land in India, but he seems to have forgotten that Mr. Potter had made inquiries from five or six natives in Madras and Mysore, who were competent persons to give an opinion, and who in the many things they recommended made no complaint of the tenure of land. Many suggestions were made as to what might be done

in India for the prevention of famines, and one to which Mr. Elliot alluded was by assisting nature in preventing drought while using artificial means for the purpose of cultivating trees. I should think that a wise measure to adopt would be to advise the clothing of the country with trees, as there is no doubt whatever that nothing promotes cultivation more freely than large forests and woods. I think we may take it for granted that the other means suggested, in due proportion, must be beneficial—the railways and roads to open up the country, canals also, and perhaps in a measure irrigation. But although for one I think very likely that small local works—such as wells and tanks—rather than expensive modes of irrigation, might be more advantageous, the outlay would be far less costly. In reference to this Indian famine, or rather to the collections that have been made in support of the temporary famine, there is one point I think we may allude to with pride, and that is the enormous subscription that was sent from Australia in addition to those from the other Colonies. (Cheers.) Now the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, who spoke the other day, alleged that the policy he advocated might be called a “parochial” one, and that his business was to look to the happiness and contentment of these islands. I consider that the people of Australia and the Colonies generally show much more the feelings of the Imperial creed; they show that they consider themselves as well as the residents of Great Britain and Ireland, also the possessors of India. (Hear, hear.) I think the enormous amount of their subscriptions is one to which we may look with pride and satisfaction and which is one of the first symptoms of a united Empire. In conclusion, I would ask leave to express your warm thanks to Mr. Elliot for his able and interesting paper. (Applause.)

Mr. ELLIOT: The hour is so late that, though I have made notes of the various speakers’ objections to particular points of my lecture, I find it impossible to reply as fully as I should wish. But I am happy to say that I have been very much indebted to and saved a great deal of trouble by Mr. Strangways in his admirable speech, which was so well and justly received. To answer Mr. Rogers would be merely to repeat what Mr. Strangways has so ably said. As I pointed out at the time, I was perfectly aware that the Government had stipulated in its leases that it would not tax improvements; but it still kept the great question open as to the rent to be demanded at the close of the thirty years’ period, and that was a tenure on which no man would invest capital. I would not do it myself, and I do not see why anyone should; and until it is altered I do not see how you can attract much capital to the land.

I pass over the next two speakers, and advance to what the Hon. Mr. Westmorland said as regards emigration. I was perfectly aware that Jamaica would take a certain quantity of labour, and have no doubt it would continue to do so, but the capacity of Jamaica and that of the West India Island for absorbing labour cannot be very great, as compared with the enormous populations which you have to dispose of. I do not apprehend that they could take a million a year ; however, I am not able at present, as I have not got the Blue-book by me, to go into this subject of emigration ; but I can only say that I was particularly struck by the small number of the people who did emigrate, and also struck with the difficulties of removing them even from one point of India to another, showing that the people of India do stick to their own country, just as we see the Irish did in former years. That may eventually be altered ; but at the same time we cannot fix any time for such a change in the habits of the people to take place as will make them emigrate to any country in sufficient numbers to absorb the enormous surplus. Then I may make a remark or two about what Mr. Hale says. I will waive the question as to whether the Government could or could not work the railways cheaper than private companies, and rely solely on the advantages given by the annuity clause ; and I do not think that anybody who examines the annuity clause, and observes the terms on which the annuities are to be granted, can fail to see that the Government would gain in a financial point of view largely by acquiring the railways,—not, I wish particularly to say, by borrowing the money and paying for the railways, but paying for them by annuities. The hour is so late that I do not see how, as I said before, I can do justice to the subjects that the various speakers have alluded to. I have had my say, the other speakers have had theirs ; and if on any future occasion subsequent discussions should be required, I should be happy to reply to all the points *seriatim*. I may add here that I have taken the greatest pains, by consulting Government officials and otherwise, to obtain the best and most accurate information I have now only to thank you for the kind and attentive way in which you have received me this evening, and to thank his Grace for having done me the honour to preside. (Cheers.)

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute of the Session was held on Tuesday, December 11th, 1877, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street; His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, K.P., President, in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following: The Right Hon. Hugh E. C. Childers, M.P., and Miss Childers; Colonel Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.; Sir Francis Murphy (late Speaker of the House of Assembly, Victoria, Australia), the Very Rev. the Dean of Maritzburg (Natal), the Rev. A. Cazenove, the Rev. A. Styleman Herring, the Rev. Brymer Belcher, Dr. Hutson, Rev. O. F. Stovin, Messrs Adolphus W. Young, M.P.; P. F. Tidman, Thomas Small, William Mactaggart, Cecil C. Balfour, Thomas Hamilton, E. G. Barr, John McConnell, Allan C. McCalman, William Walker (West Indies), H. W. Freeland, Samuel B. Browning (New Zealand), Wolf Harris, G. Molineux, Hugh E. Montgomerie, Hugh M. Lang, G. P. Moodie (Transvaal), Arthur Campbell Praed (Queensland), Alfred Romilly (Queensland), H. Nathan (British Columbia), Stewart S. Davis (West Indies), Archibald McLachlan (Queensland), M. S. de Montmorency, Hugh Muir (Canada), John Balfour (Queensland), R. A. Macfie, Hugh Jamieson, Harley Bacon, Jacob Montefiore (New South Wales), Sidney Montefiore, J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria), J. F. Kelsey (Queensland), H. B. T. Strangways (South Australia), F. P. Labilliere, H. De B. Hollings, J. Esnell, Mr. and Mrs. Westgarth, Mr. and Mrs. Silver, Mr. Francis A. Gwynne (Victoria) and Miss Gwynne, Mrs. Roche, Mr. Henry Windham Pettes and Mrs. Pettes, Mr. and Mrs. Bethill, Messrs. A. Heslop (late Attorney-General Jamaica), Robert H. Niven, James Bonwick (Victoria), William Hemmant (Queensland), G. W. Cooper, W. F. Hale Mr. Arthur L. Young, Miss Cazenove, Messrs. Charles E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), Robert A. Johnson (United States), Abraham Hyams (Jamaica), William Webster, Augustus G. Perceval (Queensland), George Tinline, W. L. Shepherd, Thomas Glanville (Jamaica), John Alexander Bell, D. Campbell, Thomas Steele, E. B. Saunders, John A'Deane (New Zealand), Joseph W. Trutch (late Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia), A. W. Fowell, E. H. Godsal, E. A. Wallace, T. M. Harrington, William F. Moore, Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., John Taylor, J. F. H. Irwin, Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. (Canada), J. D. Taylor, Tom Swain, A. H. Knight (Victoria), J. B. Montefiore (Sydney), J. Beaumont (West Indies), W. G. Lardner, C. Fraser, Alexander Turnbull, Rev. C. D. Lawrence, Mr. W. F. Lawrence, Mr. John Marshall, Mdlle. Wehrung, Miss Beckford Smith, Miss Brooks, Mr. C. W. Plummer, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), &c. &c.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) read the Minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session, which were confirmed.

The PRESIDENT then called upon ARTHUR MACALISTER, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General for Queensland, to read the following paper:—

QUEENSLAND, AND CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

In undertaking to read a paper this evening, my mind was influenced principally by a desire to say something regarding the somewhat anxious question—the introduction of Chinese in large numbers to the gold-fields of Queensland, and their fitness to intermingle or become incorporated with a European population. In other words, to consider whether what we know of the habits of Chinamen visiting the gold-fields render these people a desirable addition to the population of any of the Australian Colonies.

I take it to be one of the principal objects of this Institute to obtain and communicate information regarding the various Colonies of Great Britain. Before, therefore, I draw your attention to the Chinese question, it has occurred to me, as a subject of interest to some, that I should present to you a brief outline of the rise and progress of that Colony on which the latest invasion of the Mongolian race has been made. This I shall do very shortly, and without going into detail.

Queensland, as you all know, is the youngest of the Australian Colonies, having been erected into a Colony towards the end of 1859. Previous to this event it formed an outlying portion of the mother Colony of New South Wales, and, up to the time of separation, the larger number of its inhabitants occupied to a great extent that part of it which lies in the neighbourhood of its southern boundary. This boundary commences on the eastern coast of Australia at a point marked on the map called Point Danger, about 400 miles north of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. The greater portion of the southern boundary line is formed by the twenty-ninth parallel of south latitude. The eastern seaboard extends about 1,400 miles from Point Danger to Cape York, the extreme northern point of the continent, in latitude 10° 40'.

The breadth of the territory near the southern boundary is about 900 miles from the eastern coast line to the meridian of 138 east longitude, which forms the western boundary line of the Colony, separating it from the territory of South Australia. This includes the greater part of the Gulph of Carpentaria, which has a seaboard of about 750 miles. The whole of the Colony of Queensland comprises 669,520 square miles, or 420,492,800 acres.

The proposition to establish the new Colony was not carried out without considerable opposition by those who objected to any further cutting up of the older Colony, and many were the prophetic announcements that the experiment was at best a dangerous

one, that the population was not able to support the expense of a corporal's guard, and that the new Colony would prove a mistake.

The population resident in Queensland at the time of its establishment was somewhat under 24,000. The towns—which might more correctly be designated hamlets—were but few, while the districts known by the names of Moreton and Darling Downs, Wide Bay, Burnett, and Leichardt, with a portion of what was then, and still is, the Maranoa, were at that time the principal districts where pastoral pursuits were carried on. Queensland, however, was not even at that time destitute of stock, being possessed of over three millions of sheep and over four hundred thousand head of cattle. This was not the only condition of the new Colony. The practice in New South Wales had been to allow parties to take up new country, or “runs,” without the Government requiring them to place stock on the runs. For this reason, for hundreds of miles outside of the occupied stations the country was mapped off into blocks of twenty-five square miles each, which blocks were held under licenses by parties who, for the most part, only held them until they could sell them to some new beginner, or it might be to another settler whose increasing stock required more country. The result of such a system was that those who objected to buy, and who were at the same time anxious to take up stations, or “runs” as they were termed, and to stock and occupy them by themselves and their families, were obliged to go far out into the wilderness, with marked trees as their only guide, to the great danger of their property and their lives. To have continued such a system would have been to put an entire stop to the extended settlement of the Colony by either stock or population.

In 1862 this state of affairs was brought to a close by the Legislature of Queensland passing an Act, requiring occupation by placing a certain quantity of stock upon each run or block of twenty-five square miles. The effect of this legislation was soon observable by the quantities of both sheep and cattle which found their way into the Colony. This was followed by a rapid survey of the runs, which has had the effect of leaving Queensland comparatively free from disputes as to boundaries, and has also assisted in pointing out to new beginners where they were likely to obtain unoccupied and even surveyed blocks for their property. I have already mentioned the number of stock in the Colony shortly after its establishment. From that time until the year 1868 there was a steady and continued increase, and the returns for the latter year show that at that time there were in Queensland 66,878 horses, 968,279 head of cattle, and 8,921,784 sheep. These figures show that

during the short period that had elapsed since the establishment of the Colony, it had made rapid progress as a grazing country. About this time, however, probably with a better knowledge of the grasses of the country, an opinion prevailed that some of the districts were better adapted for the growth and fattening of cattle than for sheep. Possibly the great expense attending the carriage of wool to a port may have had something to do with this opinion. Be this as it may, from that time to the present, while horses and cattle have largely increased, the number of sheep has sensibly diminished.

In 1876 the number of horses in the Colony were 180,289, of cattle there were 1,985,807, and of sheep 7,241,810. As the possessor of cattle, Queensland stands next to New South Wales, which is the largest cattle-producing Colony in Australia; and although in the number of sheep she possessed 70,000 less in 1876 than she did in 1875, yet in 1876 the value of the wool is stated at £1,499,576, as against £1,366,000 in 1875. This is no doubt to be attributed to the constant introduction of fresh blood, and the increase in the weight of the fleece.

Here I would desire to point out—what probably I ought to have done before—the increase in population. I have already mentioned that the population at the establishment of the Colony in 1859 was under 24,000. In March last I find the population set down at 188,000, so that at this moment it does not probably exceed 200,000. Considering that Queensland has at no period of her existence had any European rush of people to her shores, that the increase has been gradual, and certainly not in proportion to the development of the Colony's material interests, this increase may be considered fair. After all, however, it is but a handful of people scattered over a territory equal to one-fifth of the whole of Europe.

It has been said by a certain distinguished novelist that Queensland, in his opinion, was not an agricultural country. What is an agricultural country? Is it one that raises food sufficient for the supply of its population? Or is it one that, in addition to this, is able by its agriculture to supply the wants of other countries? In either of these senses England is not an agricultural country, for we know that three-fourths of her grain consumption is imported, and yet these facts do not prevent her from being a great and prosperous country. Whether Queensland can become an agricultural country in either of the senses I have mentioned has yet to be tested. Her lands will grow almost anything, but whether it would at present afford sufficient pecuniary returns to till the ground, at least in the sense in which the Colonies regard profits, is doubtful. Population has found more remunerative avocations, but if we are

to test the agricultural powers of Queensland, we can only do it by the little she has already done. And taking the single article of wheat, what is the quantity per acre raised by the Colony? I shall take the average raised per acre of this cereal by all the Australian Colonies. Doing this, I find that in 1875 the average of wheat in the four principal Australian Colonies per acre was as follows: Victoria, 15 bushels; New South Wales, 14 bushels; South Australia, 12 bushels; Queensland, 22 bushels. The growth of agriculture is not a pressing matter, for between the different Colonies there is always an abundant supply of every description of agricultural produce; and until the population of Queensland very much increases, and an agricultural body grow up or be imported, it is not unlikely that Queensland's capacity in an agricultural sense can have but slight development.

The occupation of the population may to some extent be understood, when I quote the nature and value of the exports.

In 1875, and connected with the pastoral industry, the Colony exported wool of the estimated value of £1,866,080; hides and skins, £80,586; tallow, £48,000; and live stock, £261,785; making a total of £1,551,202.

The pastoral pursuits have, until within the last three years, been regarded as the staple business of the Colony, and, so far as agriculture is concerned, is likely to continue so. Mining, however, is likely to contribute the greatest source of wealth to the Colony. The value of the exports of gold from Queensland during 1874 and 1875 exceeded the value of the production of wool. During the year 1875 the exports of gold and other metals were as follows: Gold, £1,498,488; tin, £287,879; copper, £111,268; total, £1,847,575.

The value of exports from the Colony in 1875 amounted to £3,857,876, while the imports is given at £882,900, thus showing a balance in favour of exports, and consequently in favour of the Colony, of something over half a million.

In 1876 there is a considerable alteration in these figures. In the latter year the imports amounted to only £2,988,870, while the exports, exclusive of live stock, amounted to £3,740,259. I have no return for 1876 of live stock exported, but as I have no reason to suppose that there was less in 1876 than in 1875, by adding that export in 1875 to the exports of 1876 there is a clear balance of exports in favour of the Colony of over £1,000,000. The principal articles constituting these exports were copper, cotton, gold, rum, sugar, tin, wool, tallow, hides, and preserved meats.

Education, in all the Australian Colonies, has always been a

subject of great interest. In Queensland, so far as primary education is concerned, the Legislature has placed it upon what may be considered a permanent footing. Religious scruples were set up in opposition, for a time, to any settlement. Protestant parents objected to have religion taught to their children by Roman Catholic teachers, Roman Catholic and Jewish parents objected to have their children taught religion by Protestant teachers, while, probably, not a few objected to their children being taught by a school-master who, however eminent his powers and qualifications as a teacher, and however exalted his moral character, possibly possessed no religion at all. In this condition of affairs the Legislature settled the difficulty. In the Queensland State schools education is free, secular, and compulsory within a limited distance of a school. At the end of 1876 there were 170 State schools, 67 provincial or probationary schools, where no State school building had been erected, and 24 Roman Catholic non-vested schools. The latter are schools that existed previous to the passing of the State Education Act, and continue to receive aid until 1880. The children enrolled in these schools are as follows: State schools, 28,928; provincial schools, 2,057; non-vested, 5,866; making a total of 86,846.

Primary education in Queensland has thus provided a sufficiency of schools for present use, and, considering the amount of population, the enrolment is good.

In every town and village a branch of the Government Savings Bank is to be found; and when we take into account the many inducements which always exist in a young Colony for spending, or rather wasting, money, it is pleasing to observe that thrift and frugality considerably prevail amongst the working classes in Queensland, for I observe that on the 31st December last the savings banks held £641,875, to the credit of 12,904 depositors. This is altogether independent of the other banks, which at the same time held upwards of £8,000,000, the property of depositors.

In railways, considering her present population, Queensland stands well. As near as I have been able to get at the figures, there are 272 miles of railway opened, 200 miles now under construction, and 282 authorised by Parliament. In telegraphs the Queensland lines stretch from the southern boundary to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Every gold-field, town, and village has its station. There are 120 stations and 4,708 miles of line opened and in daily operation, with 265 officers of various grades on the permanent staff, besides those employed on extensions.

One word as to the revenue of the Colony. This revenue is very largely obtained by means of the Custom-house, partly from the

rents of runs, rents of conditional purchases of land, duty stamps, railways, telegraphs, and post-office and miners' rights. The financial year in Queensland, so far as the public accounts are concerned, ends in each year on the 30th of June. I have not got the actual receipts and expenditure for the year ending June last, but the estimates of both, prepared a week or two before the year expired, show receipts £1,404,500, and expenditure, including interest on debentures, £1,404,322.

In the list I have read of the sources of revenue there are conditional purchases of land which require one word of explanation. The Legislature of Queensland has, for a number of years, regarded not so much the raising of revenue from the sale of lands as the occupation and utilization of the land itself. The land is thrown into three classes: agricultural, first-class pastoral, and second-class pastoral. Under these three heads lands can be selected, and by an annual payment of either 6d., 1s., or 1s. 6d. an acre, dependent on the class, for ten years a party may become the absolute owner in fee simple. The object of disposing of the land in this way and at these low figures is to secure what, indeed, forms the condition of selection, improvements placed on the land. Whether conditions at all are desirable in the disposal of the public lands is a question upon which all the people, even in Queensland, are not agreed; but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the condition has very much promoted the utilization of selections.

In these remarks I have abridged everything, otherwise the length of this paper would prove a severe tax on your patience. My object has been to communicate a little that may not be generally known, and to point out the rapid strides which the handful of people in Queensland have already made towards making it a successful Colony.

I will now occupy a small portion of your time in referring to the late Chinese invasion.

A mistaken impression seems to have got abroad, that the object of Queensland was to exclude the Chinese from the Colony. No such intention has ever been expressed. The only desire which the colonists of Queensland have as yet evinced, has been to regulate and control the admission of Chinese; and what I purpose to do is not so much to take objections to their admission, as to show that on both moral and social grounds they are not a desirable class to introduce.

I would here point out that both in Queensland and in all the Australian Colonies the Chinese have at all times been free to come and go as they pleased, when they have come either to settle or to trade, and it has been only sought to control their admission when

they come together and in such numbers that, if continued, must soon convert the British Colonies in Australia into provinces of China.

On all the gold-fields of Queensland Chinese are and have for years been found. The only one, however, to which I desire to draw your attention is that marked on the map, situated a long way from the southern portion of the Colony. It is situated about 850 miles north of Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, and is known as the Palmer River Diggings. These diggings hitherto have been alluvial, and I believe that I am within the mark when I say that gold of the value of upwards of two millions has been extracted from the alluvial deposits alone of these gold-fields since their discovery, and the nucleus of many prosperous towns has been here found. Cooktown, named after the celebrated navigator, from his having careened his ship at that spot, is becoming an important town, visited daily by the coasting steamers, and also by the Queensland mail steamers on their way to and from Singapore carrying the English mails.

Gold-digging is of all occupations the most uncertain, and no pursuit is so dependent on mutual co-operation, and nowhere is the true principle of co-operation so successfully brought into daily practice. Simple necessity, with even a selfish motive, is capable of performing what philanthropy under more hopeful circumstances has failed to accomplish.

There seems to be a fascination in gold-digging, surrounded as it is with hardships and uncertainty, which nothing dispels, but the advent of the Mongolian. The little communities receive no aid from Government in their formation, and seek none. Far away from cities, they settle down in the alluvial valleys in a rude way. Gradually these increase, and attract to them the more permanent requisites of civilisation, corresponding with its prosperity. A common appreciation of the necessity of order, the grand feature of English colonists in young countries, make life and property as secure as in any town in England. Let the finds of gold be as capricious as may be, there is no want, and complaints are short-lived. There seems to be a natural and ready adjustment of the uncertainties of the gold-digger's life, quite unexplainable. The gold-digger has been one of the most important factors in the early stages of a good deal of Australian colonisation.

The entire European population in the Cook and Palmer districts do not number more than 5,000 all told. For the most part, this population is composed of gold-diggers and those engaged in pursuits incidental to digging. These have been the loudest in their complaints against the admission of the Mongolian,

for they are the greatest sufferers by his presence. As a class the gold-diggers are unique, and none are more cosmopolitan in their treatment of others. The bulk are of Anglo-Saxon origin, but there is a sprinkling of most nations and creeds. Their ranks are recruited from all classes; even the peerage of Great Britain is represented amongst them. The common difficulties of their position creates a common purpose of that fraternal kind not seen elsewhere. The rude and primeval mode of life demands and receives that consideration without which life would be unbearable.

They produce nothing but gold, and questions of protection or free trade do not affect them personally, and they are too eager in their own pursuits to treat questions as a pastime, further than as an intelligent consideration of passing events demands. As a rule they hire no labour, but unite in small bands and perform their own work.

It is therefore clear that their complaints are not prompted either by trade or political considerations.

To these gold-fields, therefore, particularly during the last eighteen months, an immigration of Chinese has taken place, and to such an extent, that very lately it was supposed that not less than 30,000 of them were on these gold-fields.

Recent agitation in the Colony, which found an unfavourable echo in the press of this country, will have made you acquainted with the measures which have been taken to regulate and control this Chinese emigration. Until a very recent period no public question has ever been raised in connection with the Chinese. Their habits were known and detested, but they had nowhere congregated in such numbers as to render their presence dangerous or unbearable. They were so isolated that their proclivities were kept under. They never were really in competition with the English labourer, and never could compete with him, for the highest-paid labour, and that requiring most muscle and aptitude, was quite beyond his reach. You seldom saw a Chinaman splitting rails, and they have made no show in any of the skilled handicrafts. They were not even much sought after by those desirous of having cheap labour, employers finding the European emigrant equally cheap in the end.

But there are always a number of Chinese speculators living in China ready to develop a "trade" with their countrymen when a chance offers, and the proximity of Cooktown to the Chinese ports, the accidental facilities afforded by a line of steamers seeking trade, were too much for their cupidity.

To what class of their own countrymen these Chinese immi-

grants belong—whether released convicts or the sweepings of the street—I am not sufficiently aware, but having travelled with some of them, I must say that a more wretched-looking set of human beings I have never seen.

Had the Chinese come into the Colony in the ordinary course of immigration, and engaged in the ordinary pursuits of colonisation, nothing would probably have been heard of them—no complaint would have been made by the colonists, nor would any legislative action have been invoked. The ordinary checks brought about by supply and demand would have rendered things self-adjusting. But they neither come in the same spontaneous and voluntary course as the English emigrant, nor have they followed pursuits in which they can be controlled.

It has been recognised as the undoubted right of all countries, and has been the practice of the United States, the country of all others most interested, to seek protection against passengers being landed whose condition was such as was likely to make them become a burden on the public. Such precaution would, amongst Anglo-Saxons, be required only against individual cases. How much more necessary, then, that some precaution be taken against a whole army of immigrants who arrive under circumstances in which they are almost certain to become a burden, and otherwise subvert the ordinary conditions of life.

The Chinese who come to Queensland are recruited from those ports in which the most objectionable of the Chinese reside. They come under arrangements with contractors or “bosses,” which contracts are imperfectly understood, probably even by the immigrants themselves, and to a strange country and uncertain occupation. They take it for granted they can live where Englishmen can; and this is perhaps the strongest incentive for the venture. They have studied the genius of English Colonisation sufficiently to know that safeguards are provided against disaster, and that if the employers fail they have the resources of the country. There is no guarantee given either to the Government of China or that of the Colony that the people are brought under correct representations, nor is there any assurance that these contractors will make good the representations made. I have always observed that in the colonisation of a good portion of Australia the gold-digger has been the “pioneer,” and towns have risen up and prospered after he had gone.

Nowhere has the Chinaman settled in any considerable number, that he has not created a blot on our institutions. Even in the cities, amid the amenities of city life, the “Chinese quarter” is

viewed with loathing. Nowhere has he blended with the Anglo-Saxon. The interval between them is so great that it can never be passed. The progressive ideas of Western civilisation do not harmonise with one dwarfed by age. They are not colonists in our acceptance of the term. They come alone, and do not bring their wives or families with them. Mr. Hac asserts of them that "they are sceptical and indifferent to everything that concerns the moral side of man," and this estimate of them has double force when applied in the exceptional conditions under which they live in Queensland. They regard a good coffin as of more importance than a correct life; and certainly what we hear of their habits, though unfit for discussion, is sufficient to deter any government from forcing them on a people unwilling to receive them. They do not speak or understand our language, have no desire for progress, and have no conception of representative or free institutions. They come to Queensland for none of the ordinary mechanical pursuits of life; their object is simple enough—to take possession of the gold-fields, to extract from the earth its auriferous deposits, and to this extent to impoverish the country, and having done this, to return to China to spend their days.

They invest no capital in our undertakings, and undertake no industries of a permanent character. After they have gone there is no trace of their existence, not even a tombstone to perpetuate their memory. Their very ashes they make an effort to have transported to the "Flowery Land."

They have been described as industrious, sober, and intelligent. But notwithstanding all this, there is great truth in the words of the poet, that—

"For ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The Heathen Chinese is peculiar."

An extract from a paper just received from Cooktown indicates their intention of adopting a very rough and ready method of gaining the affections of the British Colonist. Hear what it says:—

"MAYTOWN, *August 13.*—An attempted murder and robbery has been committed by the Chinese on Mr. Wilson, manager for Mr. Tough, the butcher, whilst he was travelling between Stoney Creek and Maytown, having in his possession at the time a large quantity of gold. A number of shots were fired at him by the Chinese, who were lying in ambush at Purdie's Creek, and he had a very narrow and most providential escape, a ball striking the revolver which he held in his hand.

"Yesterday, during the absence of Warden Coward and his orderly, the Chinese broke into his quarters, gagged and tied up the Chinaman cook,

smashed the safe, and carried off £200 in money. They also intimated to the cook that if they met the Warden they would shoot him.

"The Chinese are buying up all the fire-arms they can get. Serious trouble is anticipated."

Evidently showing that they are not strangers to the "good old rule," that they who can should have the power, &c., and an absence of that patient industrious sobriety and intelligence which they affect to display in other walks of life. What is the use of the qualifications they are alleged to possess, if Chinese cannot be trusted in a household or near any of its female members? What becomes of their qualifications if as a nation they are the greatest liars in the world? A thief we may guard against, a liar never. Mr. Wingrove Cooke says :—

"The Genoese have a proverb, 'He lies like a tooth-drawer;' no doubt a Greek, or a tooth-drawer, or an Italian picture-dealer will tell lies; but he knows that he is doing a mean, dirty thing, and that he at least ought to be ashamed if he is found out. He knows that lying is in the abstract a public offence reprobated by all men. John Chinaman is taught no such sentiment. With him a particular lie is a particular offence to the party lied to; but lying itself is a lawful thing. It is with him what a smart repartee is with us. The immediate recipient may wince and retort; but the world applauds, and the sayer of the *bon mot* chuckles. John Smith assures you that leather has risen to such a fabulous price that he is obliged to charge you £5 for a pair of boots, and is at that price considerably out of pocket. Now you know, and John Smith knows, that this is a monosyllabic mistake; but if you roughly tell John Smith he is a liar, he will infallibly raise his tradesman fist and fell you. So in a weaker degree, Simonides or Mendosa would feel it necessary to affect to be unjustly treated if you call them habitual liars. But if you say the same thing to a Chinaman, you arouse in him no sense of outrage, no sentiment of degradation. He does not deny the fact. His answer is, 'I should not *dare* to lie to your excellency.' To say to a Chinaman, 'You are an habitual liar, and you are meditating a lie at this moment,' is like saying to an Englishman, 'You are a confirmed punster, and I am satisfied you have some horrible pun in your head at this moment.'"

The same authority states :—

"The life and State papers of a Chinese statesman, like the Confessions of Rousseau, abound in the finest sentiments and the foulest deeds. He cuts off ten thousand heads, and cites a passage from Mencius about the sanctity of human life. He pockets the money given him to repair an embankment, and thus inundates a province; and he deplores the land lost to the cultivator of the soil. He makes a treaty which he secretly declares to be only a deception for the moment, and he exclaims against the crime of perjury. The meaner sort imitate at a distance the same qualities. They will put you to death if you innocently cause a death, yet they will not draw a struggling man out of the water, because it would

spoil such a capital joke. A Chinaman laughs when he tells you of the death of his most intimate friend—I mean acquaintance, for John Chinaman does not know what friendship means. Mr. Meadows, who is always an unwilling witness against the Chinese, tells us of a Chinaman who laughed until he held his sides, when telling of the funny death of his most constant companion."

What are we to say to their leprosy? This is a disease of which we fortunately know nothing; but leprosy, the same, I presume that is mentioned in Sacred History, they possess and carry with them to the gold-fields; a disease that is infectious and incurable, and so much do the Chinamen dread it, that they fly from one seized of it as rats will run from a sinking ship.

What are we to say of their gambling and debauchery, and those vices which attach to them, and are not to be mentioned by Christians?

To find out the workings of those classes who go to the gold-fields, let us consider the present state of California. The Chinese have been going to and from the gold-fields there for the last twenty-five years, and so large are their numbers, so frightful their vices, that their position in the States of California has demanded the attention of the United States Government. A joint committee of both branches of the Legislature was appointed to investigate the subject. They went to California, they visited all the quarters occupied by the Chinese, and they took an enormous amount of evidence given by all classes of the community, and what do they say? The following is an extract from their report:—

"The opposition to Chinese immigration was not confined to labouring men and mechanics. In the testimony will be found that of lawyers, doctors, merchants, divines, judges, and others, in large numbers, speaking of their own observation and belief, that the apparent prosperity derived from the presence of Chinese is deceptive and unwholesome, ruinous to the labouring classes, promotive of caste, and dangerous to free institutions.

"The testimony shows that the Chinese live in filthy dwellings, upon poor food, crowded together in narrow quarters, disregarding health and fire ordinances, and that their vices are corrupting to the morals of the city, especially of the young.

"By the judges of the criminal courts of San Francisco, it was shown that there is a great want of veracity among Chinese witnesses, who have little regard for the sanctity of an oath, and hence convictions are very difficult for offences committed against each other or against the public at large.

"It was proved before the committee that Chinese women in California are bought and sold for prostitution, and are treated worse than dogs; that they are held in a most revolting condition of slavery. It was further shown that the Chinese have a *quasi* government among themselves, independent

of our laws, authorising the punishment of offences against Chinese customs, even to the taking of life. It was further shown that violent hostilities exist between Chinamen from different points of China, who, coming together in California by accident or otherwise, engage in deadly feuds and riots, to the disturbance of the peace. Large numbers of them, notwithstanding the difficulty of conviction, owing to the looseness of the Chinese oath, occupy the States' prison and gaols.

"To anyone reading the testimony which we lay before the two Houses, it will become painfully evident that the Pacific coast must in time become either American or Mongolian. There is a vast hive from which Chinese immigrants may swarm, and circumstances may send them in enormous numbers to this country. These two forces, Mongolian and American, are already in active opposition. They do not amalgamate, and all conditions are opposed to any assimilation. The American race is progressive, and in favour of a responsible representative Government. The Mongolian race seems to have no desire for progress, and to have no conception of representative and free institutions. While conditions should be favourable to the growth and occupancy of our Pacific possessions by our own people, the Chinese have advantages which will put them far in advance in this race for possession. They can subsist where the American would starve. They can work for wages which will not furnish the barest necessities of life to an American. They make their way to California, as they have in the islands of the sea, not by superior force or virtue, or even industry—although they are, as a rule, industrious—but by revolting characteristics, and by dispensing with what have become necessities in modern civilisation. To compete with them, and to expel them, the American must come down to their level, or below them; must work so cheaply that the Chinese cannot compete with him, for in the contest for subsistence he that can subsist on the least will last the longest.

"The Chinese do not come to make their home in this country, their only purpose is to acquire what would be a competence in China, and return there to enjoy it. While there is a constant and increasing incoming tide, there is a constant outflow also, less in volume, of persons who have worked out specified years of servitude, and made money enough to live upon in China, and who sever their connection with this country.

"Many people of the Pacific coast believe that this influx of Chinese is a standing menace to Republican institutions upon the Pacific, and the existence there of Christian civilisation.

"From all the facts that they have gathered bearing upon the matter, considering fairly the testimony for and against the Chinese, the committee believe that this opinion is well founded. They believe that free institutions, founded upon free schools and intelligence, can only be maintained where based on intelligent and adequately paid labour. Adequate wages are needed to give self-respect to the labourer and the means of education to his children. Family life is a great safeguard to our political institutions. Chinese immigration involves sordid wages, no public schools, and the absence of the family. We speak of the Chinese as they have exhibited themselves on the Pacific coast for twenty-five years past, and as they are at

the present time. They show few of the characteristics of a desirable population, and many to be deprecated by any patriot.

"This problem is too important to be treated with indifference. Congress should solve it, having due regard to any rights already accrued under existing treaties and to humanity.

"But it must be solved in the judgment of the committee, unless our Pacific possessions are to be ultimately given over to a race alien in all its tendencies, which will make of it practically provinces of China rather than States of the Union."

Almost every word of these extracts may be applied to the Chinese on Queensland gold-fields.

It may be difficult to say what the action of the people of London would be, were an enterprising Chinese speculator to introduce to this large city, or for that matter to a country hamlet, a population three or four times greater than itself; and with them habits open to the view of our youth which are a disgrace to humanity; habits which I dare not mention, habits which at first are viewed with a curious horror, but which by familiarity might find votaries amongst our own race, diseases which we read of as the most loathsome of all; their opium dens, their gambling tables, and their foss houses. There might be no tax on rice, nor might there be any poll-tax business licenses; but whatever the action, I am fully convinced of one thing, they would never be allowed to land.

I shall say no more on this subject; I trust you will agree with me that on both moral and social grounds they are not a desirable people to come amongst a European community.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have done. If I have raised the slightest feeling of interest in your minds with regard to any of the matters I have spoken of, my object will have been attained.

DISCUSSION.

MR. PAUL F. TIDMAN: The expression of my approval of the solitary word which fell from the lecturer in favour of the Chinese led a member of the committee to detect my sympathies and request me to open the discussion this evening. Many of us have looked forward with more than common interest to the paper just read, because to those who have been watching the progress of this question of Chinese immigration, it seemed evident that some new and grave element had been introduced into it. When we found Her Majesty's Government sanctioning, and even hastening to sanction by telegraph, a measure passed by the Queensland Legislature, which only a year previously had been disallowed, it was

presumable, to say the least, that fresh and unexpected light had been thrown on the subject; and knowing the ability and experience of our lecturer, it was only natural to suppose that he would put the Institute in possession of such information as would enable them to acknowledge that the Government of this country and of Queensland have acted on wise and sound political grounds in practically stopping the immigration of Chinese into the North of Australia. I have listened with very great interest to Mr. Macalister's able paper, but I must confess that I have failed to find in it any sufficient justification of the action which has been taken on this question of national importance. The arguments advanced remind me of those urged on the Tycoon of Japan, more than twenty years ago, by one of the leading Daimios, at the time when the country was threatened with an English invasion. The Minister is reported to have said that the greatest possible evils were to be feared from the coming of the barbarians; that they were lawless, and would not respect the Government of Japan; that they were addicted to the immoderate use of liquors, known as brandy, gin, and rum; that they were idolators and feared not the gods; that they would not settle in the land, but would be off with any money they could get to their own homes; and that—worst of all—when they were insulted, they positively refused to disembowel themselves! (Great laughter.) It seems to me that the Minister of Queensland and the Minister of Japan are rowing in the same boat. They are both of them able and experienced oarsmen, but they suffer under the misfortune to which all oarsmen are subject—that they cannot see before them. I would therefore ask the indulgence of the Institute for a few moments, while I state the three grounds upon which I differ from the lecturer, and on which I advocate Chinese immigration. The first is the character of the Chinese themselves; the next arises out of a consideration of international law and treaties; and the third depends upon principles of political economy. As regards the character of the Chinese people, I hope I may not be thought egotistical if I appeal to my own experience. It is twenty years since I first knew the Chinese, and I have seen them as colonists in three distinct European communities. First in Borneo, under the Rajah, Sir James Brooke; next in the Straits Settlements; and, lastly, in the Dutch island of Java. I have had much to do with them in my capacity as magistrate, merchant, manufacturer, planter, and miner, and my knowledge of them in the one capacity has verified my experience of them in another. I do not hesitate to say that they are pre-eminent among Asiatics for frugality, enterprise, and

indomitable energy. They are essentially colonists, and will make a home in any country where they are well treated. (Hear, hear.) But I go further and maintain that the Chinaman comes of a race that is law-respecting, and therefore easily governed. In his own land his Emperor, though of alien nationality, is to him half-divine, and the cast of his mind, which is strongly conservative, disposes him to accept whatever system of government he may find exercising authority upon him. Provided only that he has faith in the power of the Government, he does not need to see any full manifestation of it, but will yield obedience to its humblest minister. I have been astonished to hear the misnamed insurrections in the Straits appealed to as proof of the turbulence of the Chinese, because these so-called insurrections have been nothing more than faction fights, clan disputes, such as were common enough in Scotland years ago, and are known to this hour in Ireland. There has never been a Chinese insurrection against the Government, and these riots, when unfortunately they have broken out, have been frequently settled by unarmed English gentlemen going into the crowd and expostulating with the leaders. And remember, that in Singapore the Chinese numbered their thousands to the English tens, and that, for many years, the greatest amount of force at the disposal of the Government was a few hundred Sepoys. But Mr. Macalister tells us that the Chinese come for what they can get and carry away with them all that they make. I think this hasty generalisation is disposed of by a consideration of the history of these people throughout the Eastern Archipelago, where thousands of them have spent the best part of their lives, have settled down and made their home. Only the other day a Chinaman died at Malacca whose death excited as much comment and regret as that of any European. In Singapore the Chinese may act as magistrates, sit in the Council, and are many of them received in society as gentlemen and equals. If I am told that this is not the case in Queensland, I am at no loss to understand it. Wherever gold is the exciting cause of immigration, there you will have the worst specimens of all nations. But my contention is this, that the history of Chinamen throughout the tropical archipelago justifies the inference that as trade and agriculture succeed to the more precarious conditions of gold-mining in Queensland, a better class of colonists will come in, who will make a home in the new country. I do not wish to overstate the case; I am familiar with the faults of the Chinese character; there is a social aspect of it to which I can only allude, but I think there are no difficulties which have not been got over and may be again. The great matter

to which the Australian Colonies should address themselves is, not the immigration of individuals, but of Chinese families. In his family the Chinaman is in his best element; he is passionately fond of his children, and the worship that he pays his ancestors, and the reverence that he has for his parents, are material out of which it is possible to make a good and loyal subject. (Hear, hear.) But we may make a mistake in governing him; I think we English have made a mistake, but I am glad to see that in Singapore an attempt is being made to remedy it. You cannot make a Coolie into an English gentleman by giving him vote by ballot and triennial parliaments, any more than you can make him a devout Christian by offering him a New Testament. The secret of the successful government of Chinese is government through their head men. Let these be placed over districts, and made responsible for the order of them; insist on the strict registration of secret societies; let heavy fine and imprisonment be the established penalty for faction riots. Meantime, while the gold-fever lasts, do not be carried away with sympathies for British institutions—trial by jury, and the like—but put the administration of the law in firm and just hands, and let justice be swift and punishment prompt. The people will themselves thank you for it, and by degrees out of chaos will come order. It is no wonder if gentlemen who have seen the Chinese, when they have graduated in the hells of San Francisco, should be of opinion that “for ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain the heathen Chinese is peculiar.” But if the views of those who have seen him at his best be accepted—I mean such men as Sir Stamford Raffles, Mr. Crawford, Rajah Brooke, Lord Elgin, Laurence Oliphant, and others—then, I submit, there is abundant confirmation of my contention that Chinese, if well treated, are a source of strength to the country where they settle. (Hear, hear.) My second point I pass over in a word, because, so far as international treaties are involved, the question is one for Lord Derby and the Chinese Ambassador. If the Chinese Government are content to see us levying prohibitive penalties on their people coming into a part of the Empire, without putting restraints and penalties on Englishmen in China—(hear, hear)—I shall agree with the lecturer that the “heathen Chinese is peculiar.” My lord, if what I have said as to Chinese colonists being a source of strength to the country where they settle be true, then my third point must be accepted. Then Queensland, if she refuses to admit these people to her shores, is acting on false principles of political economy, and must be herself the sufferer. When the Dalrymple expedition went north in 1878, they saw from the top

of one hill alone half a million acres of fertile land, and Mr. Dalrymple says, "We had come face to face with a true tropical Australia." He adds that this possession will place "our noble Colony not only far in advance of all Australian Colonies as an agricultural country, but, when the vexed labour question is settled, on a par with those older tropical countries, the products of which are household words among us." "When the vexed labour question is settled;" but how is it ever to be settled, if you refuse the aid of the only race who can help you?—the race who have developed the older tropical countries, and who now only wait your word to make these million of acres pour their million worth of products into your lap? What has been done without them? Out of the some four hundred millions of acres in Queensland, there were in 1875 about 80,000 under cultivation, and the annual European immigration was 4,000. How many of these 4,000 came prepared to till the ground? and how many of the few who did come prepared to do so would be able to labour under the fierce noon-day sun of northern Queensland? Will Australia be the poorer, if in days to come the products of our tropical possessions are sent to her markets from her own northern districts? Will the men of Brisbane be the worse off for owning broad acres on the Johnston, and raising by Chinese labour the produce for which they now pay the planters of Java and Mauritius? I advocate Chinese immigration, holding it to be the only means whereby Australia can work out her high destiny. It is for her Colonies, or rather the great future confederation of them, to carry progress and civilisation to the northernmost corner of her shores; but she must not stop there, she must cross the narrow Torres Straits, and make that lesser Australia on the other side of it the scene of busy life and activity. That island which we now call New Guinea and the tropical district of Queensland are, at least in my dream of the future empire of the south, her two Asiatic provinces. Why should not she have such, as her great mother has them now? And I should hope that one of those provinces may perpetuate the name of the statesman whose power of sympathy has won the hearts of colonists, and made impossible things practicable—I mean the name Carnarvon. It is for Australia to be true to her destiny, not to tremble before it. Her varying soil and climate point unmistakably to her having a mission to diverse races. Her statesmen need not shrink from the task before them, for they have the light of home experience to guide them, and they have the traditions and imperishable prestige of an Anglo-Asiatic Empire. (Loud applause.)

Sir FRANCIS MURPHY: I am quite unexpectedly called upon, and all that I can say upon the subject is as to my own experience, gained in the Colony of Victoria in Australia, of which Melbourne is the capital, and where we have had the Chinese difficulty, if it may be termed so, since the discovery of gold there. Chinese have come there from almost the earliest date of that discovery, and it was conceived, as it is now, the numbers were in undue proportion to the European population, and that if that immigration did continue that probably the time may come when Victoria would be overrun with Asiatics, as the Queenslanders fear will be the case now. I have myself a connection with Queensland. The difficulty no doubt was a considerable one to solve, and it was a new one in those days; but the Queenslanders have had the advantage of the experience derived from Victoria, and they suppose in following such a precedent doubtless they are profiting by that experience. At that time it was a new subject with us in Victoria, and it created alarm then because we were most of us unacquainted with the persons or the habits of these Asiatics; and we were further alarmed because we had a large disturbing influence among our population in consequence of the influx from all parts of the world of a number of European immigrants of a most undesirable nature, attracted there by the discovery of gold. A young and only newly-established Colony felt difficulty in dealing with first our own immigration, and next with respect to immigration from China. After a while I must admit—and I am an old politician in Victoria, and perhaps have had as much experience and acquaintance with the proceedings with regard to the legislation on these subjects as most men—but after the lapse of time it was found that the dangers which we apprehended from the influx of Chinese at first were greatly exaggerated—(hear, hear)—and that, if we were alarmed at one time, our alarm speedily subsided in finding that, although there are many undesirable elements amongst the Chinese, still there were many things to be learnt from the population coming from China. (Hear, hear.) In the first place we had to learn that there were a certain class of people in the world who were able to live on very small earnings for their labour; who were exceedingly industrious and manageable, and who did not interfere with the European miner in any aggressive way; they came as gleaners upon what the miners had left. (Hear, hear.) They worked upon ground that the diggers had abandoned as useless; and they were in fact, by such scantily-requited labour, contributing not only to their own success in life, but to the wealth and prosperity of the Colony. We learn from them, further, how to

till the ground with skill and minuteness, which we had not the patience to do in Australia, and successfully to get even from barren soil many products necessary for animal life, such as vegetables—an occupation that few of the European population engaged in themselves at that time. And to this day a large proportion of the people derive their vegetables and garden produce from Chinese labour. The Chinaman tills the ground in the most artistic manner, and derives a large amount of profit from it. And in Victoria, in many of the large towns, through the streets the persons who hawk and carry about vegetables are chiefly Chinese. Another source of industry from which they have enabled us to draw advantages is that of fishing, which the European people scarcely deem profitable to engage in, and by their labour in this way supply a great deal of the fish consumed in the country. (Hear, hear.) But there is no doubt many evils have resulted from the introduction of a low class of Chinese, the dregs of the seaside Chinese towns, who are brought to work as slaves. But in our towns there are a number of respectable Chinese in many occupations, and there are in the city I came from a large number of Chinese merchants whose word was as good as their bond—men who were honourable in every sense and relation of life, and who had brought up good families in a respectable manner that would do credit to any community in the world. But suppose the Colony be largely peopled with Mongolians, or say, if this country with Russians. (Laughter.) I am certain we know how numerous those persons would be to start an unreasoning cry, giving no credit to the advantages we derive, however great, and loudly proclaiming the disadvantages, some of which must be admitted. The same thing may be said of the introduction of a mixed people from any part of the world as well as of the Chinese. I do not mean to say that it would be desirable that they should outnumber the European population. There is no probability of that at all, even in Queensland; but, as I have observed, there is a large class who are highly deserving and respectable members of society, whose words, I repeat, are as good as those of any other merchant in the city of Melbourne, where they reside, who are bringing up their families as respectably as that of any European family either in Melbourne or any other country probably in the European world. (Hear, hear.) Referring now to the general question of immigration, I wish that all the Australian Colonies would have the same liberal system of promoting immigration as they have in Queensland. Unfortunately, in my judgment, in the Colony to which I belong, we have nearly prohibited it. It is a policy I regret, be-

cause, as many people know, immigration to young countries like those of Australia is essential to their existence, and the stoppage of immigration is the absolute stoppage of their life-blood. (Hear, hear.) That, I think, would be recognised by everybody who has lived in a young country, more especially in colonies like those in Australia; and if the same policy had been carried out forty years ago, what would these countries now be?—nothing but miserably small communities, with a trifling population, having no weight or position in the scales of the world, and no mercantile name to be proud of in most places on the earth. (Hear, hear.) But in Victoria we have adopted a protective system. I do not wish to enter into the merits of Free Trade and Protection, but we have a protective system not only as regards the products of labour, but also as regards the labour itself. Our system of government, based upon universal suffrage, renders it essential that our policy and proceedings should be based upon the principles professed by those whom Parliament represents, and those principles appear to be that it is unwise not to foster by Protection the products of the country—of such things as can be produced there; and that it is unwise also to interfere with the labour of that country by introducing it from other countries to compete with it there. Regretting this as I do, however, I am bound to say that the people who contribute to the revenue of a country have a right to say how their revenue should be expended. And in Victoria, where large sums of money have been expended in former times in importing immigrants, that now has ceased by the desire of those who contribute to the revenue; and I agree with the principle acknowledged—I think everywhere where the British constitution is accepted, and British principles prevail, that the majority must rule. (Applause.)

Mr. J. F. KELSEY (Queensland): I hesitate at attempting to impart my ideas on this subject, for I see many here more able to give information on this matter; but I have lived thirteen years in Queensland, and have had some experience in gold-digging in the north of the Colony. From my knowledge of local feeling, I may say that Queenslanders do not object to Chinamen coming to follow any industry but one in the Colony. They may freely come in thousands as farm labourers, sugar planters, merchants, or stock and station owners, &c., but they are strongly objected to on new gold-fields. Reference has been made to Chinamen finding success in Borneo, the Straits Settlements, &c.; but these are not countries in which thousands of the hardiest and bravest sons of Great Britain are trying to form homes for themselves, their wives, and

families, for whom there is not space in Great Britain. Were it not for the opening up of such new Colonies as Queensland, many ambitious, restless, and unruly spirits would be pent up within the rather narrow confines of Great Britain. It is of political and social importance not to discourage enterprising representatives of British manhood from going to the Antipodes to find homes for themselves and those dependent on them. The Anglo-Saxon digger is the founder of societies in the wildernesses of Australasia. The country you see on that map (pointing), on which there are now scores of growing towns, was five or six years ago an unknown desert, almost as unfit to support civilised man as parts of Africa. In the un-pioneered Australian bush there is nothing on which the white man can live; water is scarce, and local supplies of food impossible to get. Undeterred by difficulties, Europeans start off with their only store of food and tools on their back or on a pack-horse; thus they go hundreds of miles in searching for auriferous lands, and the result of their efforts is the formation of British cities. At the time when the North Queensland gold-fields were opened, there were many thousands of Anglo-Saxons from all parts of the Americas and of Australasia scattered over hundreds of square miles of new country. But it is a fact that there were not (before the Chinese invasion) more than a score of policemen spread over this extensive district. There were two reasons for not sending a larger police force. In the first place, Queensland is very young and feeble, and is not able to afford sufficient protective security over its immense territory. Secondly, amongst the Anglo-Saxon Australian gold-diggers there are well-understood unwritten laws, which are binding amongst Australian diggers. It is a perfectly understood thing that their "camp" and its contents are not to be touched. This camp is either a tent, or a few boughs for shade; they leave their camp in the morning, and go away for miles collecting sand or soil from creeks or gullies. This "wash-dirt" has to be carried on men's backs (in new fields) from the spots where found to the few isolated and more or less distant places where there is water. After washing up his load, any gold that results is collected, put into a tin pannikin, and left by the water side. Then the digger goes back, perhaps two or three miles, to get more wash-dirt, and back to the hole to add to the contents of the tin he left an hour ago. He can work, with his possessions lying unprotected, with perfect safety so long as his neighbours are all bound by the same unwritten practical laws. The Anglo-Saxon digger drinks maybe, and fights, and swears, but he will not steal; but the moment that the first hordes of Chinese

arrive the European loses small things and valuables, and feels that he cannot leave his camp. In this camp is contained all his worldly possessions, including his only source of food. There are practically no police to help him. He cannot go away leaving his goods, and possibly a wife and children, unguarded, and thus he is stopped in his work. Chinamen are like a flock of sheep. You might see a suspicious Celestial lounging about your camp, but if anything is stolen you cannot tell him from any other Chinaman, all of the lower and criminal classes being as much alike in face as one black sheep is to another. (Laughter.) The result is that the digger hardly dares to go out to look for gold, and he has nobody to show him the likely localities. Our gold-producing country is not flat and open; it is mostly through the pathless woods or untrodden mountains, where you are sure of nothing but peril, including risks from hostile "blacks" and the terrible fate of being lost in the Australian bush; these natural dangers the adventurous Anglo-Saxon boldly faces, but he does object to being obliged to sit at home to actually guard his food. (Laughter.) We hear that in Victoria they have grappled with the Chinese difficulty, and Victorians are now not frightened. Fear often ceases when peril is past. Victoria is a great wealthy Colony, with settled institutions, and sufficiently provided with sanitary and police protection; Melbourne and San Francisco have "Chinese quarters," in which no Anglo-Saxon would think of going to live. Although there is no wall, the Chinese quarter is hedged in by the mere fact that Chinamen live in it; and all that people need see of Chinamen in San Francisco or Melbourne is when a Chinaman comes to the house to take away clothes for the wash, and again to return them. But the wearied digger finds when he comes to his humble home that Chinamen are squatting all round his camp, prepared to rob him of goods and comfort. These are the causes of the difficulty that has arisen in Queensland. Chinamen may come to follow any pursuit with the one exception of going upon the new gold-fields. Until Queensland is rich enough to provide a large staff of police and an army (I do not think at present the Colony could afford to keep ten soldiers—(laughter)—for the whole country), and until they are old enough and able to protect themselves, a wholesale immigration from China is a dangerous and cruel thing. It would stop the progress of a prospering part of a splendid Colony if swamped by Chinese criminals, landing in great numbers at this present time.

Mr. WESTGARTH: I take a great interest in this subject, because

my Colony of Victoria was the first one to have the Mongolian invasion, and a Commission, with which I was connected, sent by Governor Sir Charles Hotham into the gold-fields, was the first public body, after the Chinese appeared in the Colony, to take notice of them. The Commission started for the gold-fields at the end of 1854, and at an earlier period of the year the Chinese began to arrive. In fact, four cargoes of these people arrived successively in the Colony while the Commission were sitting over their report. The Commission were very much astonished at overtaking on their way to the gold-fields, as I recollect, a whole cargo travelling up the great highway to the Castlemaine diggings ; and afterwards, when they came to Ballarat and the other gold-fields, were no less so to look down upon the dense masses of the Chinese, busy after their old fashion at gold-washing. There were not comparatively a great many arrived at that time ; when the Commission went up there were about 10,000 in the Colony ; but they were coming in so fast, and were apparently so struck with the reports of the quantities of gold, that we were then told "all China was coming." We got into some considerable alarm at this prospect, and we inserted a notice, although in a somewhat incidental way, in our report recommending that the Chinese immigration might be checked, so far as regarded any considerable numbers, with which the Colony was threatened. As Sir Francis Murphy said, the influx of Chinese was much less than that expected, and the alarms have subsided. I agree in much that Mr. Macalister said, and I like to hear an opinion on a subject of this kind from a man like him, who has been more than once at the political head of his Colony, and also, not only because he is a man of ability, but because he has been a responsible man, and had to consider the subject as a Minister in all its bearings ; and it is certain that he has come to conclusions unfavourable to a large influx of Chinese into European and British society. It is well, also, to hear opposite opinions, and I was glad to hear Mr. Tidman's remarks, for I think we are apt to presume upon our high civilisation, and to think the Chinaman has nothing good in him, and so on. I believe very much of the dark picture Mr. Macalister drew arises from the fact that at the first especially we had a very miscellaneous and bad lot of Chinese. (Hear, hear.) We found that in Victoria—and I am sure they found it so in Queensland even more—when on the Palmer diggings, there were, within a brief time, as many as 30,000 Chinamen. The place is so close to China that it needs little funds to bring them here, and, doubtless, a low class emigrated. But afterwards in Victoria, and

when the Chinese population was more settled, and when there was a sphere of business the Chinamen gradually filled, we had many respectable Chinamen, who conducted business on excellent principles. (Hear, hear.) Now, with regard to the comparison Mr. Tidman drew between Singapore and Queensland, or any other of our Anglo-Saxon Colonies, we must not put too much upon that. I have been to Singapore as well as he, and I have noticed the excellent bearing of the Chinese, so much so that I do not see how Singapore could get on without them; in fact, it may be called a British Colony based upon Chinese labour. It is a prosperous Colony, the labour element depending entirely, or all but entirely, upon Chinamen. We might say the same of other such Colonies. We must remember that there are two classes of Colonies in our Empire. There is the tropical Colony, where our race cannot live as the general labouring population, and where we must have other races. There is, again, a Colony of British race, like Queensland, although Queensland is, perhaps, a little too far north to be a good specimen of that first-class Colony, so that we must go farther south, to such as Victoria, where we have all grades of society, and every occupation represented by our British people. Now, as regards this latter class of Colony, the great objection to a large influx of Chinamen, or of any other extremely foreign element, is that it is an indigestible mass in the midst of a society with which it can never amalgamate in a political and general sense; and that was the feeling which, if I recollect rightly, weighed upon the Gold Commission of which I was a member. This high social consideration was really what we ought to look at, and not be bandying accusations against the Chinese that they were this, that, and the other that was bad. (Hear, hear.) They have, as Sir F. Murphy said, good features amongst them which might serve as an example. No one, I believe, ever saw a Chinaman drunk—I may say, however, that although he was never drunk with spirits, which was very commendable, yet he was often intoxicated with opium. However, as far as regarded frugality and industry, and as far as intoxicants go, he is to many colonists an admirable example. (Hear, hear.) I think Mr. Macalister has put the case in the proper light. When this Chinese difficulty in the Colony is referred to the Home Government, and when the Home Government's inclination under treaty engagements is to disallow the colonists' restrictions, colonists must and will protect themselves from a large foreign influx, such as the Chinese; and I like the way in which Mr. Macalister put the case when he supposed some proportionate influx of China-

men to be threatening England. Let us suppose the prospect of one or two millions of them being sent to this country ; why, the mere supposition of such a thing would set the whole country in arms. ("Hear, hear;" "No, no.") And why should it do so? Not that the Chinaman would behave ill, but simply that our people would see at once that such an enormous mass of foreign elements could never be co-ordinated with themselves; and it would be such a nuisance, both political and general, that they could not be allowed to come in; and therefore it must be considered that these treaties were not made for such an anomaly as that, but in view of mere ordinary trading, and of such settlements between one country and another as trading may require. I myself must say that great masses of Chinese ought not to be allowed to come into those Colonies which are British societies throughout, and thus different from the tropical Colonies; and under that consideration I was always favourable to a system of restriction where there was the prospect of an inordinate influx of Chinamen. (Cheers.)

MR. DENNISTOUN WOOD: A great many years ago, many more than I should like to name, I addressed a public meeting in Melbourne, in opposition to the prejudices which at that time existed against Chinese immigration. Sir F. Murphy has said there was a prejudice against them, but it died away. At one time that prejudice was so strong that it showed itself in a peculiar manner. The people of one district of Victoria were somewhat like the diggers in the Palmer gold-fields, or like Lot in times of old, for their righteous souls seemed to have been vexed day by day by the deeds of the Chinese; so they assembled to the number of some hundreds, and drove the Chinese away; and so great was their abhorrence of the vices of the Chinese, that they were not content with driving them away, but appropriated everything the Chinese had in their tents. (Laughter.) Another remarkable thing was, that this virtuous indignation was not confined merely to the honest immigrants, for a great many of the ringleaders in the attack upon the Chinese were men who had left their country for their country's good, and whose first move was a preliminary trip to Van Diemen's Land! (Laughter.) Now, I have no doubt at the bottom of this opposition to the Chinese immigration there is a vast deal of selfishness. The feeling of European diggers towards the Chinese digger is much the same as that of an English stonemason towards the Italian or German masons at Temple Bar! He would do all he can to keep him out if he could; but in this country he cannot do it. It is not easy at first sight to distinguish an Italian or German from an English

labourer. Still they are distinguished occasionally, and brickbats, and other little reminders of that kind, tell the German or the Italian mason how much inferior he is in moral virtues to the English. (Laughter.) But in regard to the Chinese intruder there is no such difficulty. What is to be thought of the morality of the people who do not wear broad-cloth, but who do wear pig-tails? Down with such heathens! The question which has been raised by Mr. Macalister has not been fairly put. The question, he says, in one part of his paper, is this, "Is the Government justified in forcing Chinese upon Queensland?" That is not the question. There is no proposal to spend the Government funds in importing Chinese immigrants into that country. If that were proposed I could understand the people of Queensland saying, "If we are to spend our money on immigrants we'll get the best class, and we don't consider Chinese the best." The question is whether in a country which, as we have been told, is one-fifth the size of Europe, and which is inhabited only by a handful of people, we have the right to prevent people from coming there. We are told of filthy streets, where the Chinese are. I have seen Chinese in their own country and other places, and cleaner streets to my thinking I never saw; and why, if the people of Batavia, or of China or Singapore, can enforce sanitary regulations upon the Chinese, is it beyond the skill of the inhabitants of Queensland to make the Chinese keep their streets clean? One thing they are taunted with was having opium dens. But are we not guilty of hypocrisy in bringing forward such a charge as that? Here is England, which waged a war upon the Chinese to force them to receive opium, and yet we talk like this! I would venture to say that all the inconvenience which the Colonies have suffered from Chinese immigration are as nothing compared with the inconveniences which the Chinese Government have suffered from the intrusion of the Briton on her shores. By the point of the bayonet and by the cannon's voice we have penetrated into China; and yet, forsooth, we say we are afraid of a bare handful of Chinese coming into our land. We are told of Chinese leprosy, but it is not so many centuries ago that we had leper-houses in all parts of England. It is a disease which can be cured and got rid of, like any other disease. Besides, I have not heard that it has affected any European, and if it is an evil which has befallen the Chinese it is reason to pity them; but so long as it did not affect Europe, I do not see that it affords any reason for excluding them from any part of the British dominions. Mr. Macalister reminds me of the drummer, who exclaimed, when the soldier who was being flogged

complained that he was not hit on the proper place, "Strike high, strike low, there's no pleasing you." (Laughter.) Mr. Macalister objects to the living Chinaman, but he is exceedingly grieved that the Chinese carry away their dead. However much he may object to the living Chinaman, he is rather aggrieved that he cannot keep the dead one. Everybody can see on reading this paper that everything has been raked up to make out a case against the Chinese. I do not say they are the best class of persons you can have amongst you; but on what pretence did the British settle in Australia? It was occupied in a sort of way by savage races. Why did we force our way upon them? Because we had said, "Here is a vast country, almost uninhabited;" and I say that, if Europeans cannot fill up the country, let Chinamen come in and do it. What is the question? Where are these Palmer gold-fields situated? In about the sixteenth degree of latitude, far within the tropics, a country we know which will never maintain a large class of European labourers. What do we do in Jamaica, and other West Indian islands? We bring thousands of heathens from India. The planters want the labour there, and they raise no objection to the moral qualities of the labourer; but because in Queensland the European labourer finds, or rather thinks that he has a competitor, he immediately cries out, "Don't have an influx of Chinese heathens, don't swamp our European Christianity!" A report made to the Congress of the United States has been referred to. We are there told that Chinese have a great aversion to free schools. What an assertion is that! There is no people in the world where education is more generally diffused than among the Chinese, and yet we are told that if they come in numbers into the United States there would be an end of the public schools. (Applause.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: I should like to say a few words on that aspect of the question on which I think rather too little attention has been bestowed in the course of the discussion. I mean the national aspect. I do not think that the question whether the Chinese should be allowed into Australia or not ought merely to turn upon the consideration whether John Chinaman is the very estimable gentleman depicted by Mr. Tidman, or whether he is the reverse, as described by Mr. Macalister. The question is whether there is danger of our British population in Australia being swamped by this foreign element. That is the question, and all the other considerations brought into the discussion of it are more or less mere prejudice, as lawyers would say. I think the question must be settled upon the consideration of that only. Now, Mr. Dennistoun

Wood has said, What right have we to hold these territories in Australia if we do not people them immediately by British inhabitants? If Mr. Wood's argument is of any value whatever, it goes to this, What right has Great Britain to claim the whole of Australia, when she does not at once occupy all its territories? Why should she not allow the Germans or Italians, or some other European nation who desire to establish Colonies, to take a large slice of Australia and colonise it at once? The question is simply this, If no restrictions are placed upon the Chinese, is there a danger of their swamping our nationality in Australia? (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir F. Murphy has pointed out most distinctly what the reasons of the Legislature of Victoria were. I remember the passing of the Chinese enactment, and the discussions upon it. I believe the effect of that legislation was most beneficial. It checked the stream of Chinese inundation which was then setting in in the direction of Victoria, and Chinamen going back to their country reported to their kinsmen, "You cannot go there in too great numbers, because there is this legislation to prevent you." And as soon as it was found that the measure in question had this desirable effect, the Government of Victoria, not wishing to harass or annoy the Chinese or any other race, repealed the enactment; but it has ever since had the desirable effect of keeping too many Chinese from coming to Victoria. Within recent years, however, or at least within a few months, this inundation of Chinese has taken the direction of Queensland; and the Government of that Colony has most wisely followed that remedial course of policy which was so successful in Victoria; and I believe it will be successful in checking the undue introduction of Chinese into Queensland. When that is accomplished, the Queensland Government will most probably again follow the example and experience of Victoria, and repeal this restrictive legislation; and a most wholesome lesson will have been taught the Chinese. They will learn that they must not attempt to convert Australia into what Mr. Macalister has called a dependency of the Chinese Empire. (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. Tidman has told us that it would be a most advisable thing to people Northern Australian with Chinese, as Singapore has been peopled. I admit this, that by introducing within the next ten years as many millions of Chinamen into Queensland or other parts of Australia, you might develop the resources of Australia to an extent which they would not otherwise attain in fifty years; but is it desirable that we should accelerate the progress of Australia at the expense of the future nationality of Australia? (Hear, hear.) Is it desirable, in order that a few men may make fortunes, the

whole type and character of the population of that great continent should be fixed and moulded for ever ? I think that unless we are to be so tremendously cosmopolitan as to deny the superiority of our own race altogether, and to say that the Chinaman is as good as the Englishman, or perhaps a good deal better—(laughter)—then I think it is essential that we should at once face this question, and say that a Chinese inundation shall not be tolerated in Australia. (Hear, hear.) Now one word with regard to its being desirable for Europeans to live in these Queensland territories. It is true that there are a good many places along the coast of Australia where the climate is not adapted to European populations ; but when you go one or two hundred miles inland, there is a very elevated table-land, the continuance of the Darling Downs, in New South Wales, enjoying a very temperate climate, bracing, if not at all times, at least during a considerable portion of the year ; and that back territory of Queensland which runs almost up to Cape York, is, I believe, according to all accounts, capable of bearing a very large British population. For the sake, therefore, of utilising a few swampy districts on the coast, and at the mouths of rivers, are we to plant the Chinese over the whole of the Australian Colonies which are available for our own population ?—a result quite possible, if they have free access to any part of the country. I think the Government of Queensland have taken a most wise course with regard to this question ; and the Imperial Government cannot but consent to that policy, seeing that it sanctioned it in the case of Victoria nearly twenty-five years ago. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. F. HALE : I think Mr. Macalister has found out that the liberal feeling of this meeting has not been decidedly in favour of supporting the action of the Government, and that there are as many good characteristics about the Chinaman as in his own countrymen. It appears to me that there is no question about this fact, that Chinese are valuable and eligible to any State. It appears that their industry affects the European gold-digger more than any other class of men, and that of course is obnoxious, as has been said to-night. Still it has been shown that if the Chinaman is treated as he ought to be treated, differently, he may prove no mean acquisition to a country. The comparison made of their coming into London and going to Queensland is overstrained and out of the question. I agree, however, with Mr. Macalister, that under the circumstances London would be inclined to grow selfish over such an event, and perhaps disgrace itself by its want of liberal feeling ; but, for all that, I think the two cases are not dissimilar. I am

very glad to find this subject ventilated so well by this paper, and to think that the Chinese, take him for all in all, has his faults, but, irrespective of the drags of China, he behaves well, and is worth his salt, and is entitled like any other person to negotiate on any part of the earth. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: Shortly before I left South Australia this Chinese question came prominently up for discussion, and we decided in the Legislature to repeal, and we did repeal, the Act placing restrictions on the immigration of the Chinese. I believe that the whole of this question lies in a nutshell. If the Australian colonists are willing to permit Chinese immigration they will do so, and if they will not permit it the Mongolians will be kept out. The colonists do not care one straw about Downing-street; and Lord Carnarvon, who, it has been proposed, should be immortalised amongst the Chinese in some at present unoccupied corner in Australia, may write as many despatches as he likes,—they will pay no attention to them. ("No, no;" and "hear, hear.") I am perfectly serious in what I say: they will pay no attention whatever to Downing-street in a question which materially affects their own rights and interests. (Hear, hear). If the Secretary of State for the Colonies were aware of the fate which attends most of those voluminous despatches sent out to Australia, I am sure he would not spoil good paper by writing them. I say it is a question solely for the Australian colonists to decide, and they will decide it for themselves, utterly irrespective of Downing-street, just in the same way that the Cape colonists decided for themselves whether South Africa should be made a perral settlement or not. Now, as to the comparative merits of the Chinese immigrants, I was very much surprised, I confess, with the remarks of Mr. Tidman; but it appears that it is one of those instances in which distance lends enchantment to the view, that, having seen all the beauties of the Chinaman in China and in the East, he comes here some 12,000 or 14,000 miles away from them to say how beautiful they looked when he saw them. (Roars of laughter.) Nearly the first experience I had of the Chinese was on board a P. & O. steamer, seeing the crew ranged out on deck and the second mate washing them down with a fire-hose. (Great laughter.) There are Chinamen and Chinamen; there are Chinamen in Melbourne who are large merchants, who are in every way respectable and respected men. There are many Chinamen in Adelaide, residing in the town, artisans and others, against whom no one has a word to say. But you should not talk as some of the shipping agents are talking: they, mark you, send the Chinese down hundreds at a time in steamers,

Queensland, and Chinese Immigration.

and make a good thing out of Chinese emigration, and they are glad to encourage it. They charter the steamers and take them down at so much a head, and the chiefs of the Chinese in the villages, in carrying out this project, have to sweep the emigrants up from where they can in order to furnish the complement which they have contracted to supply. They are then put on board just as sheep are in some Colonies, or as pigs are put on board in Ireland, and transported to Australia. But to refer more particularly to the paper read, I will say that I do not see that much attention ought to be paid to the report that has been made by the Legislature of California on the Chinese, because I think the greatest part of that report is simply a question of Irish labour against Chinese labour. There are a great many Irish in all the Legislatures of the United States, and with all respect to our friends across the Channel, an Irishman is never disposed to work hard for a day's pay, if he can get the pay without working for it. (Laughter.) I do not blame him for that, and therefore when he finds in the States of America that the Chinese interfere with him, he cries out against them. Who made the Trans-American railway? The greater part of that railway connecting the eastern with the western shores, over which we get all the New Zealand mails, the greatest part of that railway was made by Chinese labour. This is an unquestionable fact—no one can deny it. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if you allow the people of the country interested in the question to settle it for themselves they will do so, and will settle it in the end in a manner that is beneficial to the whole of the country. Now, Mr. Tidman said there were three grounds for permitting Chinese to enter Australia. First, the character of the people: of some this is exceedingly good, of some it is very bad, and of other classes it is altogether indifferent. Therefore you may leave that out of the question, The next ground was the question of international law, which has nothing to do with it, because if you are going to rest it upon that, one of the fundamental principles of international law is, that no foreigner should enter a State without the assent of the head of that State. Consequently Mr. Tidman is at once floored by his own argument. The last ground was the principle of political economy, which, having still less to do with the question than that of international law, Mr. Tidman has wisely dropped, and I will follow his example. (Laughter.) The only other point is Mr. Westgarth's remark as to the influx of Chinese to Victoria. He is quite right as to the facts he has stated. I do not question them at all, but I draw a different inference from them. When the Chinese first poured

into Victoria in great numbers, the Victorian Government passed an Act to keep them out, but they could not; the Chinaman went to South Australia, where there was no Act; he landed on the South Australian coast near the border, and then walked across, for he had only about 200 miles to go in order to reach the Victorian diggings. Then the Victorian Government made strong representations to the South Australian Government, and they passed an Act to impose some limitation upon the Chinese immigration. Then the Chinese were practically shut out; they could not find the money to get to the country, and to pay the capitation tax, as it, when added to the amount of passage-money, was more than John Chinaman could afford to pay; and thus they were kept out. Sir F. Murphy and Mr. Westgarth said the evils of that immigration were exaggerated. I am not sure of that; but I am sure of this, that the effect of that capitation tax was to keep out many thousands of Chinese who would otherwise have gone to Victoria, and it was that checking of the immigration that had the effect which Mr. Westgarth has described as an exaggeration of the evil that would arise. Alluding to the general question of the Chinese immigration, it is looked at out there from different points of view. There are the squatters and the sugar planters who want to get cheap labour. They cannot get it; these things balance themselves, and they cannot get Chinese to work in that country for half a crown a day, when they can go 100 miles and get 10s. a day in the diggings. Therefore the question of importing Chinese for cheap labour would never, while the diggings continue, have any material effect. Then another and a small class of the community wish to keep Chinese out on account of the competition with labour. With this class I have little sympathy; but with those persons who do fear, if the Chinese immigration is not regulated in the proper way, that the number of Chinese would soon exceed the number of European colonists in the country, I have strong sympathy. Now, when you find that all the colonists of European descent on the mainland of Australia at the present time number only about two millions, and that there are about 400 millions of Chinese in China, it would require that only a very small proportion of the Chinese population should go to Australia in order to exceed the number of Europeans now resident there. We know, further, that in China there have been lately severe famines; and those who have had to attend to this question know that the Chinese Government have for many years past been looking for a country to which they could direct their surplus population. If the surplus of 400 millions take themselves over to Queensland's

shores, they will outnumber the European population, and it would eventually, if it is allowed to go too far, become a question of race. Therefore, I say again, that if the Colonial Office would be content to allow a matter of this kind to slumber—you cannot expect the Press to do so in the great gooseberry season—but if the Colonial Office would allow the colonists to settle this question for themselves, they would do it in the future as they have done it in the past; and if you leave the colonists to settle their own affairs you would have no trouble whatever in the matter. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. HUGH E. C. CHILDERS, M.P. : The duty has been assigned to me of moving, as I do with the greatest pleasure, a vote of thanks to Mr. Macalister, for the interesting paper which he has read to us to-night. Perhaps in doing so, I may be permitted to say that I came here as a listener, and not in any sense as a critic. At the same time, will he allow me to ask him one or two questions upon the paper, the answers to which will, I think, much help the discussion, and clear up a few points about which we have not had entire information? I was, I believe, the member of the Victorian Government which introduced the Bill to restrain the emigration of Chinese, I am sorry to say, twenty-three years ago. The first question which Mr. Macalister will allow me to ask him is, What is the contemplated legislation of Queensland on this subject? I am afraid he has taken it for granted that we coming here to-day know all about the subject; but I confess I am very ignorant of what has passed in the Legislature during the last few years. I should therefore be much obliged to him if he would tell us what the Queensland Government have proposed to enact in restraint of emigration. What we in Victoria did twenty-three years ago was something like this : we prohibited the introduction of Asiatics in a larger proportion to the tonnage of emigrant ships than one to ten or twenty tons, I forget which; and if more than that number were introduced a large capitation sum had to be paid. We also appointed officers, whose duty it was specially to exercise surveillance over Chinamen while in the Colony; and later, there was a Chinese capitation tax, payable for all engaged in mining or as storekeepers. If I am not mistaken, this ceased after a few years. We should be interested more in knowing what the actual policy of the Queensland Government is, so that we can compare it with what we tried elsewhere. I should be glad if Mr. Macalister will tell us what is the organisation of the Chinese in Queensland. I was in California during the month of October last, and I was able to study

very carefully the organisation of the Chinese there. Now, every Chinaman coming into California belongs to one of seven or eight companies, corresponding to certain Chinese provinces. Their passage-money is advanced to them by those companies on the other side. When they land, each man is enrolled in one of those companies, and repays over a number of years the amount that has been that way advanced to him. They thus become members of societies, the machinery of which is used to keep them in order, to find them in employment, standing between them and those who are to employ them ; and ultimately, when the society is fully repaid, they continue members of it, I believe invariably. Whatever may be the virtues or the vices of the Chinaman, at any rate this is found to be the result—that the company organisation is very beneficial ; that the Chinamen, as a rule, are found to be peaceful and orderly, and to give very little trouble. Is there anything analogous to this in Queensland ? and, if not, would it not be desirable to try this system ? Taking what has fallen from both sides to-night, nobody can doubt that there must be a considerable immigration of Chinamen into Queensland. One gentleman behind me said that nobody objected to a large number of Chinamen arriving in the country ; the only objection to them was their congregating upon the new gold-fields. If that is the case, what the Government and the people have to do is to regulate and organise, upon the experience of other countries. There is one other question which I think would be interesting if Mr. Macalister would answer. We have not heard as yet—I speak for the moment as a member of Parliament—much about Chinese immigration into Queensland ; but we have heard a great deal about the introduction of immigration from the South Sea Islands in large numbers. This subject has given the Home Government a large amount of anxiety and trouble ; for, however much despatches from Downing-street may appear unimportant to Mr. Strangways, no one has questioned the importance to the Empire of this question of Polynesian traffic. What I would ask, then, Mr. Macalister to tell us is, whether the great objection to heathen immigration—to the introduction of people of an inferior race in such numbers as to overwhelm Europeans—extends to the importation of labourers from the South Sea Islands ? If, as we have understood hitherto, public opinion in Queensland has not been opposed to the introduction of Polynesians, I think we should have it clearly explained to us how it is that the introduction of the other and far superior race meets with so much objection. This apparent inconsistency Mr. Macalister will do well to clear

up. I must confirm what fell from Mr. Strangways as to the discussion of this matter in the United States ; though the Commission was one of the two Houses of Congress, and not, as he supposed, of the Californian Legislature, and therefore was removed, to a certain extent, from local influences. I am bound to say, having read through the whole of the Blue-book (between two and three thousand pages), and having conversed with a great many gentlemen deeply interested in this question, that the main objection to them is on the score of their interference with high wages rather than moral or religious considerations. How, it is said, can the Anglo-Saxon, with his ample requirements of meat, drink, and clothing, compete with the Chinaman, whose requirements are so much less ? Though we may smile at such arguments having weight, in a Protectionist country they are natural, and almost inevitable. I must apologise to the Society for detaining them so long. ("No, no.") I most cordially move a vote of thanks to Mr. Macalister for his extremely instructive paper. I hope this question will not be lost sight of in this country. Mr. Strangways will excuse my saying that it is not only a Queensland question, but one in which we and the whole British Empire have a deep interest ; and Mr. Macalister has greatly assisted discussion of the subject by the excellent paper which he has done us the honour to read to us. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. WM. HEMMANT, late member of the Assembly, Queensland, seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. Macalister, and said the question was, should Queensland be a British or a Chinese Colony ? I apprehend there is scarcely a person here who would deny that it was the bounden duty of Queensland to take some steps to prevent the influx of Chinese as soon as it assumed certain proportions. The question is, had it done so at the time the Queensland Government took the step they did ? and that they did not act with undue precipitation, will be evidenced by the fact that at the time the legislation was proposed the Chinese were coming into the Colony at the rate of about four Chinamen to one European. An idea may be formed of the extent to which they were arriving that at one time there were 2,000 or 3,000 in quarantine. Queensland, as has been stated, has been foremost amongst the Australian Colonies in the efforts she has made to introduce Europeans. During the short time she has been an independent Colony she has expended over a million sterling, and granted over a million acres of land for immigration purposes, and by doing so has increased the population by nearly 100,000 souls. She has done that in the short space of twenty years, and,

with the exception of New Zealand and South Australia, and latterly New South Wales, she has been alone in the efforts she has made. With regard to the remarks which fell from the previous speaker referring to the South Sea Islanders, I may say they were never regarded with favour by the people of Queensland. They were introduced there in the first instance by Captain Towns during the time of the American war to grow cotton, but their introduction has never been favourably regarded by the people of Queensland. It may be urged that on the Statute-book was an Act to authorise their introduction; but the Act simply controlled their introduction, and appointed safeguards how they should be treated on their arrival, and returned to their own country. They are no more popular with the Europeans of Queensland than the Chinese. Having returned from Queensland about twelve months ago, when the first Bill to which the Home Government refused their assent was proposed, I may point out that at that time every person, no matter what his nationality, was entitled to take out a miner's right for 10s. per annum. This gave him the right to mine and to occupy certain grounds, and for erecting his dwelling. The Legislature increased the price of the miner's license to £4 to all Asiatic aliens. And for the right of extracting thousands of pounds' worth of valuables from the earth the Asiatic simply was required to pay £4 to the State instead of an annual payment of ten shillings; and the reason for this, no doubt, was partly to check their introduction, and partly to provide a fund for the payment of the expenses connected with the arrival of this kind of immigrants—a large increase became necessary in the police force, and it was considered fair that Chinamen who were not "settlers" in any sense of the word should contribute a larger sum than those who were really colonists for such a privilege as that. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. BRYMER BELOHER: I rise with some diffidence, for I have been here on four or five occasions but have never yet seen a clergyman bold enough to rise in an assembly like this, and perhaps my remarks may be such as may not be looked for at this meeting; I hope, however, I shall say them kindly, with due regard to the persons whom I am about to address. We have heard in the paper read that there are 80,000 Chinese in these gold-fields, and I should like to ask, if Mr. Macalister will tell us, whether there are any women amongst those 80,000 Chinese, or whether they are all men? We are told about their immorality; all I would say is that while I have no wish whatever to object either to the introduction of Chinese if the Queensland colonists think fit, or

to put any restraint they may think fit upon their introduction, I cannot but feel that, if they are allowed to enter the Colonies in such large numbers, the Queensland Legislature is bound to take some steps to guard against the immorality which such an influx as 80,000 men must produce. Although I have been indirectly connected with Queensland for many years, as the Commissary of Bishop Tufnell, and one of my former curates went out there, with whom I corresponded regularly, I have not much more information than an ordinary English clergyman possesses on the subject. Taking for granted, then, what Mr. Macalister has mentioned, I ask this: Has not the Queensland Legislature certain duties towards those 80,000 heathens whom it allows to live within its dominions? The question I would throw out for your consideration is this. We are taunting them with being heathen and immoral. Now we have heard a great deal this evening of an expression which I object to using myself; but I repeat it because it has been used by speaker after speaker, "the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race." I must say I know nothing in our natural constitution which makes us superior to any other race. I believe the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race is owing in a great measure to the teachings of that holy religion which is taught in these islands, and I cannot but believe that the Legislature of Queensland and the Church of this country has a duty which it owes towards those 80,000 Chinese in Queensland. Nor am I speaking without book, for I can say most distinctly that in another Colony it has been found possible to influence the Chinese for good, and the results have been most satisfactory. The Chinese have contributed towards building a church for themselves, and help to maintain a catechist, and are doing all they can to evangelise their own countrymen. The Colony I allude to is that of British Guiana.

The PRESIDENT: Before conveying, by your command, a vote of thanks to Mr. Macalister, allow me to make one or two brief remarks. When I was in San Francisco, some four years ago, I found there as much antipathy—the feeling being very strong—to the Chinese as ever I heard expressed towards any race by any other people in the world. It is true that I saw in the principal banks there, Ralston's and Lathom's, that one of the most trusted clerks in each was a Chinese. (Hear, hear.) At some of the best hotels the waiters were all Chinese, and very clean and tidy they looked, and they did their service very well. The cooking was often done by Chinese in private houses, and the servants were Chinese. The washing and mangling was done by them. Wo

ing and Co. announce their name and occupation on their window-pane; and I must say I have had much less reason to complain of the washing in San Francisco than I have of that of my own laundry-maids at Kimbolton Castle. Certainly one gentleman who suffered from employing Chinese was General Nagle, who began five years before I was there to distil excellent brandies. It appeared that three years afterwards he employed Chinese labour, and the whole of his precious stores of brandy, with wine presses and distillery, were burnt one night; but this was not done by Chinese; his previous labourers had been Irish. In short, I fancy there must be a great deal of prejudice about the Chinese. I can quite understand that colonists, especially in Queensland, where there are very few English settlers as yet, should be afraid of their country being taken from them by the Chinese, as they appear to fear, and I think perhaps it is quite reasonable that they should check the immigration, so as to limit its amount, as no doubt, from their proximity, the Chinese have much greater facilities for getting to Queensland than the English have; and although I have seen instances of most respectable, well-educated, and honest Chinese, still, in so dense a population, there must of course be great numbers of persons of a different character, and, as we know, the gold-fields may attract honest men as well, but they also unfortunately attract a great number of adventurers. (Hear, hear.) I hope, therefore, that we may be allowed to admit the necessity of the legislation of Queensland with regard to Chinese, and yet that we may not go away with the opinion that all Britons are saints and all Chinese are villains. I am very glad to convey your thanks to Mr. Macalister. (Loud cheers.)

MR. MACALISTER: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—In rising to make one or two observations, I beg to convey to you my most heartfelt thanks for the high honour you pay me in the vote of thanks just passed. If, as stated at the close of the paper, any interest of the slightest character is created in your mind in the subject, then my object will be attained, and it has been attained. I am very glad that the views I propounded have been adopted by several gentlemen who have addressed us this evening. At the same time I can make perfect allowance for all the observations that have been made by several who are opposed apparently to my views. Mr. Tidman came here determined to argue against the right of the Government of Queensland putting a pecuniary penalty or a fine on these people coming to the Colony, but I never said one word in my paper with regard to legislation of any kind. I did not come here to question the right of the Imperial Government or

the local Government of Queensland to pass an Act or confirm it. However that question has arisen, it was not started by me. The only two points involved in my paper were that, on moral and social grounds, it was not desirable that those people should be there ; and therefore you will observe that, with regard to legislation for the protection of Chinamen, or with regard to legislation of any kind, either as connected with them or the Polynesians, had nothing to do with the subject on which I was addressing the meeting. At the same time I was perfectly aware that a large latitude would be taken in the discussion of this subject. I do not object to that ; I was rather pleased that, instead of meeting the question as I put it, it was met on other grounds. Now, to take up the arguments which Sir F. Murphy and Mr. Wood advanced—for they were tantamount to the same thing—Mr. Wood, as I understood him, disregarded entirely the morality of the labour which was introduced, so long as the labour was paying ; the morality of the question was to be put out of view. I deny that that is the view I take of the question. I say, this is not to be looked at in a local or narrow-minded manner—that this is a great national question, and it can only be decided upon great national grounds. Now Sir F. Murphy said they had been opposed to the introduction of Chinamen in Victoria at one time, but afterwards they found they had made a mistake and they had carried their opposition a little too far. How did they find that out ? Simply because Victoria had passed an Act to tax those people, which was in force for ten years, and they ceased to come ; and then the evil had been obviated. But I should like to ask Sir F. Murphy, when he referred to the occupation of these people as being fishermen, whether he is going to raise the question of taxation on persons of that kind ? Were persons of that kind to be taxed on families and following the occupation of their fathers ? Now, Mr. Childers asked me to enter the question, but I stated before that I did not enter the course of my observations. I do not want anyone to say that I am promoting either the cause of the Chinese or the cause of the Polynesians. But I may state that the Imperial Government has not passed any law upon the subject in Victoria, so far as imposing a tax upon the Chinese. The only law that has been passed by the Queensland Parliament is a law that the Imperial Government has not passed. The great point of similarity between the two is that they both reject themselves, as to what the Imperial Government has done. Childers will excuse me.

been done to regulate the Chinese? Nothing has been done. The matter is of too late a date probably to make any regulation of a special local character to apply to them. But there are Acts of Parliament which provide of course for the good conduct of the gold-fields, and it will be perfectly open for the Chinese to establish any association amongst themselves for their own management of their regulation. I should imagine that that was a thing that ought to come from themselves. If they have all the various matters mentioned here to-night, they ought to be able to associate themselves and pass regulations for their own guidance.

Mr. CHILDERS: My question was whether they had been so

Mr. MACALISTER: No, they have not done so. With regard to what has been done to Polynesians, it is to be remembered that Polynesian emigration to Queensland starts from a different footing to that of Chinese. Polynesians are seldom introduced into the Colony, unless to parties who have means of their own, and when they do start for the islands for Polynesian help must be provided with Government agents, who are not voluntarily introduced into by the natives on the part of the Colony, or any other way, so that the interests of the emigrants are protected as far as possible. Mentioned by Mr. HENNINGSEN that Polynesian labour was not to be regarded with any more favour than that of Chinese. They were introduced for the benefit of sugar growers, and the people have never been in favour of them, and I believe they have been shown that will likely in a very short time prevent Polynesians being brought to the Colony at all. I am not sure whether the Government have not adopted the practice of educating a few natives, and bringing small parties to the country. I believe I have no official information, I believe that a contemplated

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been done to regulate the Chinese? Nothing has been done. The matter is of too late a date probably to make any regulation of a special local character to apply to them. But there are Acts of Parliament which provide of course for the good conduct of the gold-fields, and it will be perfectly open for the Chinese to establish any association amongst themselves for their own management or their regulation. I should imagine that that was a thing that ought to come from themselves. If they have all the virtues mentioned here to-night, they ought to be able to associate themselves and pass regulations for their own guidance.

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Mr. MACALISTER: No; they have not done so. With regard to what has been done to Polynesians, it is to be remembered that Polynesian emigration to Queensland stands upon a different footing to that of Chinese. Polynesians are seldom introduced into the Colony, unless to parties who have charge of them, and when the vessels start for the islands for Polynesians they must be provided with Government agents, who see the contracts entered into by the natives on the part of the Colony, so that every care is taken that the interests of the employed are attended to. It has been mentioned by Mr. Hemmant that Polynesian labour has not been regarded with any more favour than that of Chinese. They were introduced for the benefit of sugar-growers, and the people have never been in favour of them; and I believe steps have been taken that will likely in a very short time prevent Polynesians being brought to the Colony at all. I am not sure whether the Government have not adopted the practice of refusing to issue licenses for bringing such people to this country. Although I have no official information, I believe that is contemplated.

Sir F. MURPHY: Except for the use of the plantations, they are not to be allowed to go into the interior.

Mr. MACALISTER: I trust I have answered the questions put by Mr. Childers satisfactorily. (Hear, hear.) It is quite unnecessary for me to enter into further discussion. The great argument that appears to me to be advanced in favour of Chinamen coming into Queensland has referred to a different class of Chinamen altogether, and not to the men who are in the practice of visiting the gold-fields of Queensland. There is no objection to a respectable Chinaman coming there; it is the class we object to. As to whether the 80,000 Chinamen brought women with them, I have to answer in the negative, and that is one of the great objections—they bring no women with them. (Great cheers.)

THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE third Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, January 22nd, 1878. His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., President, in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following:—Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., Lady Cooper, and the Misses Cooper (3); Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.; Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New Zealand), the Hon. and Rev. Francis Byng, Captain Jopp, R.E.; Captain George Frederick Young (Bengal Staff Corps), Captain W. J. Wyatt, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Dr. Hutson, Rev. C. F. Stovin, Messrs. Alexander McArthur, M.P.; William Forster (Agent-General for New South Wales), — Brewer (Sydney), James A. Youl, C.M.G.; Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. (Canada), Henry J. Jourdain, C. J. Nairn (New Zealand), R. M. McKerrell, B. J. Wardell, Alexander Ried (British Guiana), William L. Merry, B. A. Ferard (New Zealand), J. C. Richmond (New Zealand), John McConnell (British Guiana), Allan C. McCalman (British Guiana), E. G. Barr, William Walker, Gisborne Molinsux, H. E. Montgomerie and Miss Montgomerie, F. P. Labilliere, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Matthews, Mr. and Mrs. Westgarth, Rev. J. Long, Messrs. J. V. H. Irwin, P. Homan, H. Monckton, S. Boyce Allen (Sydney), Thomas Hamilton, Frederick Tooth, Myles Patterson, Robert Landale (Victoria), J. H. Thomas, J. Vesey-Fitzgerald (Victoria), A. Rogers (late Member of Council, Bombay), E. Coffee, John A'Deane (New Zealand), G. W. Cooper, Augustus B. Abraham, Mr. and Mrs. Plummer, Messrs. W. Cooper, R. Stevens, John T. Rennie (Cape Colony), John Balfour (Queensland), W. S. Wetherell, G. T. Bean (Adelaide, South Australia), W. T. Deverell (Victoria), Arthur L. Young, T. Bridges, S. B. Browning (New Zealand), G. R. Godson, J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), C. M. Peacock, Alfred Romilly (Queensland), George Tinline (South Australia), W. L. Shepherd, Robert Porter, E. A. Wallace, J. W. Trutch, C.M.G. (late Lieutenant-Governor, British Columbia), Richard Kidner, B. L. Rose, J. Beaumont (West Indies), E. B. Cargill (New Zealand), W. J. Gibbs, Watson Shennan, E. H. Godsal, F. G. Muir, W. Lee, M.D. (Sydney, New South Wales), D. Ward, S. William Silver, Frederick Green, M. C. Thomson (Rockhampton, Queensland), J. Carlyle, J. H. Butt, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.)

THE DEATH OF MR. WILSON.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: Before we proceed to business, I feel it my duty to refer to a loss—a very serious one—which the

Royal Colonial Institute has sustained since our last meeting. Mr. Wilson, of Melbourne, has died ; and, as this Institute owes so much to him in its original inception, and for the active part he took as a member of the Council, as long as his health enabled him to do so, and afterwards as a vice-president, I cannot do otherwise than express my own feelings of regret, in which, I am certain, I am joined by every member of the Institute, for the loss we have all sustained. (Hear, hear.) He was a noble Englishman ; he did credit to his country, and he did credit to the Colony he joined in assisting and promoting its welfare, and was, I am happy to believe, successful in the enterprises he undertook. I trust that you will forgive me for interrupting the business by expressing these sentiments, but I am sure that the occasion of them warrants my doing so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : I should like to be permitted to detain the meeting for one moment, before I read the minutes of the last meeting, while I supplement the admirable remarks which you have heard from our President by one or two words of my own with regard to our late friend Mr. Wilson. He was one of the founders of this Institute, and a very active member of the Council ; he did all he could while in that position to further the great cause and the great work which we are associated together for the purpose of promoting, namely, the unity of the " Empire." (Hear, hear.) But there are many in this room who had the privilege and the happiness of knowing Mr. Wilson in another capacity, and I can only say on behalf of those who knew him as well as I did myself, that it was a great pleasure to us whenever we went down to visit him in his historic home at Hayes, to receive his genial hospitality there, and to see the way in which he promoted the happiness and the pleasure of all those around him. Most particularly, one great feature in his character was the deep interest which he took in the animal creation ; indeed, the house at Hayes might be called a veritable " Animals' Paradise." There his favourite science of acclimatisation was practised to a wonderful extent, and one saw the kangaroo and the emu of Australia, and the monkeys and parrots of other parts of the Empire, with many of our own more domestic animals here, all living in a most harmonious state of perfect freedom and contentment. It must have struck many, as well as myself, that Hayes Place was really a most happy home for all the animal creation. In the death of Mr. Wilson I feel that the Institute has lost one of its most prominent and eminent members, and many of us too a very dear, valued, and honoured friend. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT then called upon Sir DANIEL COOPER, who said: My lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—The paper which I am about to read is rather short, but I trust it will convey the ideas which I wish to impress upon the public in Great Britain, and especially on some parties in New South Wales. The paper is entitled—

A SKETCH OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1788 TO 1876.

The eastern part of Australia was discovered by Captain Cook in 1770, during his first voyage in the ship *Endeavour*. The bold and broken character of the coast reminded him of South Wales, and hence he gave the name of New South Wales to the newly-discovered country.

On January 26, 1788, the first Governor, Captain Arthur Philip, R.N., landed at the head of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, with the earliest settlers, and proclaimed the limits of the new Colony. At various times these limits have been reduced.

In 1808, Tasmania was put under a separate government, and South Australia in 1836. Victoria, after a few years' guidance under a superintendent, was finally separated in 1851, and, lastly, Queensland in 1859. The Colony, thus curtailed, still comprises an area of 207,000,000 acres.

At the first numbering of the people, there were found to be 1,080 men, women, and children; and their wealth consisted of 5 head of cattle, 6 horses, 20 goats, 29 sheep, 74 pigs, with 18 turkeys, and some geese and fowls. At the end of 1798 the quantity of land transferred to settlers was 3,470 acres.

At the close of the year 1794 wheat was 10s. per bushel; maize, 7s.; the value of a Cape ewe, £6 to £8 8s.; a she-goat, £8 8s.; a full-grown hog, £8 10s.; an English cow, £80. Jamaica rum, £1 to £1 8s. per gallon; Maderia wine, 12s. per gallon.

The colonists suffered great hardships at times from want of food, vicissitudes of weather, and the difficulties of managing the class of people sent out as the first colonists, and also from the hostility of the aborigines. Governor Philip, however, seemed fully equal to any emergency; and by great energy, tact, and judgment may, during his five years of office, be said to have founded the Colony on a solid basis. Whatever may be the abilities of the best of the Governors who succeeded him, to none should the Colony feel a deeper debt of gratitude than to Arthur Philip.

At the end of 1797, the live stock of the Colony consisted of 84 horses, 827 head of cattle, 4,247 hogs, 2,457 sheep, and 2,276 goats.

To Captain John McArthur the Colonies are indebted for the

importation of a class of fine woolled sheep, which have been an inexhaustible source of wealth. By his energy and foresight, against much opposition, he established the pastoral interests of Australia.

It would be tedious to follow the Colony through all its vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, and its various political and domestic changes during the first half of the present century.

At the end of 1860, the aggregate population of all the Colonies was 1,124,477.

Revenue	...	...	...	...	£5,170,568
Imports and exports	...	...	...	...	47,867,126

New South Wales, cut down to its present boundaries, at that date possessed—

Sheep	...	...	...	...	6,119,168
Cattle	...	...	...	...	2,408,586
Horses	...	...	...	...	251,497

and the export of wool amounted to 12,809,868 pounds. The revenue, exclusive of loans, was £1,808,925, and the expenditure, including interest on loans, was £1,812,777.

The imports for the ten years, 1851-60 (this includes Queensland), was above £5,000,000 per annum, or £52,822,249. The export for the same period was £89,827,726, or a trifle less than £4,000,000 annually.

At this time 7,170,690 acres of land only had been alienated.

The public debt was then £8,880,280; and the population 350,860.

The deposits in the seventeen savings banks were £557,196. The banks held, as deposits, £5,164,011.

Their coin being	...	...	...	£1,578,424
Bullion...	...	...	...	90,052
Landed property	...	...	...	289,050
In 1874 the sheep were...	...	...	...	22,872,882
Cattle	...	...	...	2,856,699
Horses...	...	...	...	846,691

The export of wool was 87,500,000 pounds,

and valued at...	...	...	...	£5,651,645
Live stock exported, valued at	...	...	...	1,191,298
Tallow, skins, and leather	„	...	...	806,210
Preserved meat	„	...	...	78,712

£7,222,868

The imports were £18,500,000 per annum.

The exports were £18,671,581 „ „

The savings bank deposits were £1,295,000. The bank deposits were £14,542,868.

The revenue of 1875 amounted to	...	...	...	£4,121,995
The expenditure...	...	...	...	8,415,650
				<hr/>
Leaving a surplus	...	...	...	706,845
To which add the surplus of 1874	...	...	...	910,618
				<hr/>
Gives a surplus in hand of	...	...	...	£1,616,958

At the end of last year, 1876, this surplus is estimated at nearly £2,500,000, and the estimated deferred payments for land, which, at the end of 1875, was £5,000,000, will, at the end of 1877, be greatly increased. The public debt is £18,000,000, and, as a commercial transaction, the two items—accumulated surplus revenue and deferred payments—could be made to pay off more than half this debt. Much anxiety is felt as to this rapidly-accumulating surplus and increasing amount of deferred payments, as they may induce a reckless Government to squander the resources of the country on useless or unproductive works, or unduly large and extravagant Government establishments.

The ex-treasurer, Mr. Alexander Stuart, in making his financial statement in January last, says: "While seeing before us a future of immense wealth still to be derived from our valuable Crown lands, I am deeply impressed that that wealth can only be ours by a wise administration of that which is being realised, and by a constant watchfulness against undue expenditure of a useless and unproductive character, whilst we hesitate not to open the hand with a ready liberality, whenever a beneficial result may be expected."

Up to 1878, the land sales averaged about £250,000 annually.

The sales were in 1878	...	...	...	£774,000
1874	...	...	...	1,048,000
1875	...	...	...	1,627,000
1876	...	...	...	2,250,000

But whilst this rapid increase in the gross sales of land was taking place, there was an equally rapid increase in the charges of the Lands Department. As applicable to these sales of land, the increase above the cost of the same in 1871 was—

In 1874	...	...	...	...	£75,152
1875	...	...	...	...	151,825
1876	...	...	...	...	196,585

Mr. Stuart, in his speech above referred to, again says : " In proceeding with the analysis of the revenue derived from the sales of land, I commence with the amount which I have thus assumed as having been realised prior to December 31, 1878— £500,000

" Net land sales, 1874 ...	£1,047,696		
" Less than which I have explained as representing the equivalent of the normal sales ...	£865,000		
" And the additional departmental expenses...	75,000	441,482	606,214

" Net land sales, 1875 ...		1,627,618	
" Less as before normal sales	879,000		
" Additional departmental expenses	151,825	580,825	1,096,788

" Net land sales, 1876 ...		2,250,457	
" Less as before normal sales	892,500		
" Additional departmental expenses	196,585	589,085	1,661,442
			£8,864,424

Out of this sum of ... 8,866,574

Mr. Stuart says :—

" We have paid off debts amounting to ...	£1,077,226		
" Advanced to loan account, and thus deferred borrowing ...	775,000		
" In banks as part of the cash balance	898,917	2,751,148	
" Leaving ...		£1,115,481"	

To wipe out this balance, Mr. Stuart gives a tabular statement of sums spent for the benefit of posterity as well as for that of the present generation, and which expenditure, but for the surplus on land sales, must have been provided for by loans :—

90 *A Sketch of New South Wales, 1788 to 1876.*

Roads and bridges, 1874, 1875, and 1876, in excess of 1871	... ..	£515,497
Public works and buildings, same period, and in excess of 1871	... ..	625,668
School buildings, residences for teachers, &c. same period, and in excess of 1871	... ..	114,621
Immigration in 1876	... ..	50,000
		<hr/>
		£1,305,781

These figures may be disputed by many, or arranged on a different principle, but there can be no doubt that the gross revenue from the land sales must not be looked at alone as the cause of the present surplus, as it is fairly chargeable with the cost of the Land Sales Department, and no one can deny that large sums have been spent in payments, which would otherwise have to have been made out of loans.

I may, however, briefly draw attention to the following inquiries:—

Is it wise, having regard to the population of the Colony, and the small amount expended to increase that population, to force the land sales to such an enormous extent?

Again: Is it wise to stimulate the occupation of land by free selection and deferred payments when the selectors must depend on their pastoral occupations? As agriculturists the consumers would be too few, and the cost of carriage would prevent the products being taken profitably to distant markets.

Lastly: Is it wise in the State to have so many electors State debtors?

With a large stream of immigration, the small pastoral and agricultural farmers would have a far better chance of succeeding, especially in good seasons; with scarcely any immigration, and complicated and onerous conditions of fencing and personal occupation, until the deferred payments are all cleared off in hard seasons, in a majority of cases, it must end in debt, and ultimately in ruin—thus throwing the lands into the hands of the capitalists. By this system there would, at first, be a great augmentation of small landowners, but year by year, without emigration, the number of *bonâ fide* freeholders must decrease.

With a less artificial and forcing system the land would be more permanently settled by men of small means; there would be a much more economical Government Land Sales Department and the funds from the sales would last longer, be better spent, and do generally more good to the Colony. Great care must be

taken to reduce the cost of the Land Sales Department immediately the sales begin to diminish.

It has generally been considered, but, to my mind, erroneously, that the railways do not pay anything towards the interest on the capital expended on their construction. This amount, to the end of 1876, was £8,596,000, out of which work not yet opened had cost £600,000. It may, therefore, be said that £8,000,000 had been expended.

The estimated net revenue for last year was £356,000, being slightly less than 4½ per cent.

The post office, in 1876, left a loss of £94,000, but this was paid out of revenue.

The telegraphs have cost nearly £400,000, and not only give no interest on this amount, but leave a loss of £24,000 annually.

I need not detain you with other items of a similar character; I merely give the above particulars as they relate to leading and popular departments.

The duty on spirits in 1872 was £368,000, since which the population has increased one-fifth, and it is found that the revenue has increased in an equal ratio, giving £442,000 for 1876. This statement I regret to be compelled to make.

There can be no dispute as to the rapid advancement and prosperity of New South Wales from its first establishment, or even since her last child, Queensland, was taken from her.

The drought from which the Colony has been suffering more or less severely during the past three years will cause immense loss of sheep and cattle; but this disaster, although it may ruin individuals, will only slightly retard, but not permanently injure, its general prosperity.

To evidence the richness of the country, I need only give in their rotation of relative value the exports for 1875:—

Wool	...	...	£5,651,648
Gold	...	...	2,094,505
Live stock	...	...	1,191,298
Coal	...	...	671,483
Tin...	...	...	521,920
Copper	...	...	298,224
Hides, leather, boots, and shoes	...	...	242,940
Grain	...	...	150,206
Tallow	...	...	111,522
Preserved meats, &c.	...	...	78,712
Timber	...	...	69,889
Other articles	...	...	417,257
			<u>£11,494,549</u>

The imports for the same year were £13,490,200, together in round numbers £25,000,000, as against £9,000,000 in 1860, nearly trebling in the fifteen years, while the population had only increased from 850,860 to 628,800, thus not quite doubling itself in the same period.

The greatest want of the Colony is a steady increase of population, chiefly of the agricultural classes, and enterprising men with small capital, of the mechanical and shopkeeping class; likewise, female servants are, at all times, greatly in request. The colonists are wise in strongly opposing Chinese, Malays, South Sea Islanders, or East Indians as immigrants, as these can, at best, only serve a temporary purpose, leaving in the future an offspring utterly worthless. The Chinese carry off all they make, and never work for others so long as they can work for themselves.

The communications between the Colony and Europe, Asia, and America have greatly improved, not only by the aid of fast-sailing and auxiliary screw vessels, but the P. and O. Company eastward and the Pacific Mail Company westward deliver mails and carry passengers each way, with the greatest regularity, in about forty-four days. Steamers are now running, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, in the same time. These latter I regard as of the highest possible value to Australia, as in the future they will stimulate a steady flow of immigration into the Colonies. The other two lines serve best for postal purposes, and to keep up communication with other portions of the globe.

The system of national education is that chiefly encouraged, but aid is largely given to the denominational schools, and, considering the scattered nature of the population, much good is being done by both. There is at Sydney a good University, with three affiliated colleges, and a grammar school.

The schools under the Council of Education exceed one thousand, and the scholars—

In 1865 were	...	...	...	58,453
1874 „	...	..	...	119,133
1875 „	...	...	...	127,756

The social peculiarities of the inhabitants of New South Wales are like those of all small British communities, with most of their good and many of their weak points. Both the boys and girls are quick and self-reliant, but frequently wanting in application.

As a community they differ from the other Australian Colonies in being perhaps less boastful, and too often depreciating their own Colony and deploring the present times; but under this deprecia-

tion they have a strong love for their particular piece of Australia, and especial admiration of Sydney and Sydney Harbour. This love of their Colony is a great trait in their character, and will no doubt forcibly conduce to the retention and settlement of the wealthy-born in their own Colony.

To those, like myself, who have shared its fortunes in good and evil times, no words are required to freshen our affections for Australia. We have seen its marvellous progress during our day, and we have the strongest belief in its future. There is no better or brighter land to live in, and I feel certain that many generations yet unborn will say the same. (Cheers.)

Sir DANIEL COOPER (continuing) said: It has been suggested to me that my paper is rather short; but as I am not given to thrust myself forward by lengthy statements, it was my intention on the present occasion to keep the paper short, adding a few leading points which I should like to see discussed, not only in this room, but out of it, and in order to fill up a little time, as the paper is shorter than usual, his Grace and Mr. Young, the Secretary, wish me to give a few personal reminiscences of the Colony. (Hear, hear.) I am generally supposed to have been born in Australia, but I was really born in England, and my parents arrived out there on Christmas-eve in 1828. At that time, of course, one cannot recollect every little incident, still I was quite old enough to recollect something, and I believe that the population of the whole Colony was about 86,000; and out of that number those who went there free numbered less than 5,000. The law was harshly administered in those days, being the jury system, and the jurymen were military men, and the Penal Law was extremely severe. This, at the time, was a great grievance, and there is no doubt that there was great abuse by those in authority in administering the laws in the way in which they treated the population. But when I come to consider now what was a grievance then, I believe the stand then made did very great good in the Colony. The unfortunate individual who had to suffer created great pity, but the good-nature and manliness of English nature caused great exertions to be made at an early date to try and get rid of the abominable system. In 1831-5, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Baxland, Dr. Bland, and others, were continually writing, talking, calling public meetings, speaking in Parliament whenever they could, to get the system altered, begging and praying for free institutions. Whilst they were doing this the case appeared almost hopeless; persons could scarcely move out of Sydney; on the Paramatta Road, Windsor, and other roads bushrangers were out murdering and robbing wherever they could.

tomorrow, and I could live and make money, and grow rich again. It wants prudence, perseverance, and hard work ; not people who go to pick up money in the streets without work. No doubt at all that in these Colonies there is as fine a day now as ever there was if people would only go out and use their energies, a little tact, judgment, and perseverance, and they would succeed. (Cheers.)

DISCUSSION.

MR. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR, M.P. : My Lord Duke,—I came here to listen and not to speak, and had no intention of taking part in the debate ; but the Hon. Secretary has requested me to say a few words, and as I am an old colonist I do not feel justified in declining to do so. I think we must all feel under an obligation to Sir D. Cooper for the interesting paper he has just given us ; and I think not one of its defects, but one of its merits, is that it has been short, and that he has condensed within so brief a compass a large amount of exceedingly useful statistical information. I wish we could get some members of the House of Lords and Commons to adopt a similar system. I think if we could we should save a great deal of public time and do much more good. (Hear, hear.) Sir D. Cooper has been for many years Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, and has had to listen to many dry and prosy speakers there, as some of us have to do here, and he is aware of the value and importance of being short and distinct. The information which he has given us about the Colony is, to my mind, exceedingly interesting, and I think that when we bear in mind the facts he has stated, the increase the Colony has made from the first, and the stock being so very low until last year, when I find there were 22,872,882 sheep and a large quantity of cattle and horses, we must admit that the Colony has made rapid progress. (Hear, hear.) And when we take into account that in 1874 the imports were £18,500,000, and the exports £18,671,581, I think that is a sufficient answer to those who would try to persuade us that our Colonies are no use to the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) Then when we take the bank deposits into account, we have a good idea of the very rapid increase of the Colony in wealth, there being £14,542,868 in the banks. One feature which Sir D. Cooper has omitted is with reference to the enormous quantity of gold that has been sent home from the Australian Colonies ; he says that in 1875 we sent home £2,094,505. The amount of gold sent home from the three Colonies, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, I am not prepared at present to say, but it is

something enormous. I think if we take into account the advantages we derive in this country from Australian wool and gold, we must admit we are under great obligations to our Australian Colonies. (Hear, hear.) The revenue also has been very large in New South Wales, and is rapidly increasing. I should have been glad if Sir D. Cooper had referred to one feature in that respect which I think has been the principal cause of the increase : while our friends in Victoria have pursued a somewhat Protective policy, our friends in New South Wales have adopted a Free-trade policy. The result has been that while Victoria has been almost standing still, if not retrograding, New South Wales has been rapidly progressing—a strong argument in favour of Free-trade. With regard to the Crown lands, I fully concur in the remarks made by Sir D. Cooper and Mr. Stuart. I find that the surplus of land was £1,616,958, and that a very large quantity of land has been alienated. Now I believe that it was a wise policy to sell land where you have persons to occupy it, and when you can by doing so encourage emigration from this country. I think with Sir D. Cooper that that is the great want of the Colony—*i.e.* population. Those who have been in the Colony know what can be done there ; and, to see the struggle that people have here to get on, I am sometimes at a loss to understand how it is that so many persons remain in this country when they could do so much better elsewhere. I quite concur also in the remarks made with regard to the policy adopted with reference to deferred payments. When I was in the Colony, I very strongly objected to that system, and I opposed it as much as I could. I thought it an impolitic system. I did not think it wise to induce men to take up land at five shillings an acre and to give them an indefinite period for payment of the balance, as I feared it would be as was the case with quit rents—that that debt would be repudiated, and that, if it were not, the danger of having such a large debt owing to the State by persons who had the elective franchise would lead to unpleasant results. I fear it may do so yet, and shall be glad to see that altered. With regard to education, we have, it has been stated, a very admirable University there ; and I think it is a fact worth stating that a few years ago, before we had our present educational measure, and, indeed, up to the present time—for that measure has hardly had time to produce much effect, though it is working admirably—the state of education in the Australian Colonies, and especially in New South Wales, was better than it was in this country. That speaks volumes for the views our friends take there of the importance of education. There is one statement to which I rather demur. Sir

D. Cooper says: " They differ from the other Australian Colonies in being perhaps less boastful, and too often depreciating their own Colony and deploring the present times; but under this depreciation they have a strong love for their particular piece of Australia, and especial admiration of Sydney and Sydney Harbour." I do not wonder at their having that admiration for the harbour, for I think it is the finest in the world, and all who have seen it will admit this. I have met persons who ostentatiously boast of the Colony of New South Wales; but I have never met any person disposed to depreciate it, and I think they would not be justified in doing so. I have generally found that the inhabitants of New South Wales have a love for their Colony, and justly so. We have recently had a very excellent proof of the efficiency of the educational institutions of the Colony in the fact that a young Australian a few weeks ago came over to this country, passed his examination at Oxford, and took his exhibition over the heads of the Englishmen who were his competitors. (Hear, hear.) We are much obliged to Sir D. Cooper for his paper. There are many other points I should like to refer to, but my time is up.

The Rev. A. STYLEMAN HERRING: The only subject that I shall presume to address this meeting upon, will be that of emigration to the British Colonies. I have taken a very deep interest in it, and I am always thankful, in looking back on the past ten years of my life, of having been the means of sending so many out (4,000 directly, and several thousands indirectly) to our Colonies, but especially to Canada. My Lord Duke, there was one observation in the paper of Sir Daniel Cooper with regard to the great difficulty of getting emigrants to go out. I tried very much indeed to obtain them for the Australian Colonies, but they looked upon going out to Australia almost like transportation. I tried them earnestly, picturing to them all the beauties of the country; and in passing one cannot but help feeling, if it was possible, that a great many of those poor men now almost starving in South Wales could be transplanted in a short time to New South Wales, what a blessing and a comfort, what a happiness for all the time they may have to live upon this earth! But we find in towns (and especially those who dwell in London) that it is more difficult than from inland places and the country to move those people out of towns. If a person has lived in London only a short time, he somehow gets to love it, either for good or evil; and, therefore, it is a great deal more difficult to get them out of it. Another cause of the difficulty was the want, I might say, of nearly all the Australian and New Zealand Colonies in promoting emigration. (Hear, hear.) Where

population is, wealth will always follow. The Americans understand the truth of this, and understand it well too, while they have encouraged emigration, and have helped it in every possible way. The Canadians have done the same during the last ten years, and they too have found enormous benefits derived from such a wise policy. They have attracted a large number of that class of people which Sir Daniel Cooper spoke of—viz. the smaller class of farmers—all of them possessing means, and also encouraged the humbler sort of emigrants who go first by giving them a helping hand directly they arrive out. But I believe that those who have entrusted to them money from the public ought to spend that money for the greatest benefit of the people themselves, and to send out many emigrants; and I also hope and trust that, some day or other, we shall find that there will be third-class Parliamentary voyages across the Pacific and Atlantic. I think that is the great point indeed. (Hear, hear.) I think if the Imperial and Colonial Governments can but see the matter in this light, it would be a great blessing to both countries at the same time. (Hear, hear.) We find that it cost such a large sum of money to take and transplant, say one of my Norfolk friends, and put him into Sydney, New South Wales (£17 or £18), which was too expensive for those entrusted with public funds, while the voyage out was a great detriment also. In examining it we find that 100 to 120 days on board ship to persons who had been accustomed to work day after day, had in many cases a deterring effect. I am glad to know that there will be soon a more speedy means of joining England to the Australian Colonies. I can only hope that the Australian Colonies will find that the quick voyages of forty days will be for their benefit, as it certainly will be for the benefit of England. The working classes no doubt have during the last five or six years enormously increased their wages and savings. They are much better off than formerly. At the same time, if there is not thrift, or if there is loss of work, they go down quickly, and become poor men much more speedily than formerly, on account of the high price of provisions and rent, and other things. At the present time there are excellent English workmen ready, if encouraged, to go over to Australia. I can only hope indeed that, like Canada—which has set a good example, and as the prosperity of the Canadian Dominion has increased greatly during the last eight or nine years, since she has encouraged emigration, and that too more perhaps than any other of the Colonies—the Australian Governments will see that it will be for their benefit that some of the enormous number of the surplus population of England should find its way to their shores, and

that either the Imperial Government or the Colonial, or both together, may see fit to increase emigration from one part to the other. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTGARTH: Sir Daniel Cooper has given us a good practical exposition, and has avoided matters contentious and political; and therefore I presume he has given none of us cause to oppose anything he has said. On that account I suppose that the Agent-General for his own Colony now present (Mr. Forster) has not been able to find anything to speak about. (A laugh.) I am so far connected with this subject as I represented Melbourne in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, of which Colony my own—Victoria—was then a part. We looked at that time with great reverence upon the metropolis of Sydney, then much ahead of Melbourne, both physically and mentally, if I may so speak. We saw and felt a comparatively great experience of statesmanship there, and the raw recruits that turned out in that “line” at Melbourne made then but a poor show. Sir Daniel Cooper has alluded to the separation of the two parts of the then united Colony, and said that Victoria separated without making any provision for its proportion of Colonial debt. I suppose Sir D. Cooper has been thinking of the present rather than the past. There was no public debt then. We are very familiar with Colonial debts and debentures now, but there were none of those things at that earlier time. On the contrary, and quite to reverse Sir D. Cooper’s position, we Victorians, upon an equitable balancing of accounts, claimed a debt from New South Wales, and I cannot recollect that we ever got any of that. There was a small beginning of public debt at the time Queensland separated from Sir Daniel’s Colony, but I do not recollect how Queensland arranged that matter. I will not refer to anything further, but merely state the proud feeling that all colonists like myself must have at the great progress of New South Wales, and express my satisfaction at the course in respect to freedom of trade upon which that Colony has embarked; she is an example in that important direction to all the rest of the Australian Colonies, and I hope that Victoria and all the rest will follow suit. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. LEE, of Sydney: This meeting has very much interested me, and, having been in New South Wales forty years, I think I have something to say upon the subject. I have to express my sincere pleasure at hearing the paper read by Sir Daniel Cooper. I can quite concur in his remarks with reference to the progress of the Colony. I have seen a great many colonists, and I knew many of them who arrived at those distant periods reeferred to by the reader,

and who in a few years had succeeded, and had established themselves in comfortable homes ; and I have found that where people have not succeeded it was generally due to some fault of their own. I fully bear out the remarks of Sir Daniel Cooper as to the admirable suitability of the Colony for the surplus populations of this country ; and I trust that the British Government will aid in promoting this cause, and that we shall see larger batches of immigrants go there from the mother-country, for that in reality is what is wanted. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. : I should like to say a word relative to the production of coal in New South Wales. Sir Daniel Cooper in his valuable paper puts down the export of coal as amounting to £871,488 in 1876. Anyone looking at the chart before us must be struck with the extent of the coal-field commencing at Murrumbidgee on the north, and extending down to Jarvis's Bay on the south, and the immense value of undeveloped wealth contained in that block alone, running as it does along the coast within reach of numerous ports, in many of which the coal is taken from the pit's mouth, and by tramways conveyed on board ships, and shot into their holds, the full cars in going down taking up the empty ones. There are also large deposits scattered throughout the interior of New South Wales, and some near to iron mines, so that this Colony has, in addition to other resources, two of the elements of wealth which has made England so great as a manufacturing country, very largely distributed over her territory.

Mr. LABILLIERE : Your Grace has kindly asked if I have anything to say upon the subject, and, as a Victorian, I am only too happy on the present occasion to come to the rescue of New South Wales, as we find that, in the course of this debate, our New South Wales friends are not disposed to speak as well of themselves as I think they are thoroughly justified in doing. Now, although I am a Victorian born and brought up, and am deeply attached to my native Colony, I must say I have never entertained one degree of jealousy of the parent Colony of New South Wales or of any of the other Australian Colonies. I think it is a great misfortune that any petty provincial differences should be for one moment entertained between those different Colonies, because the real fact of the matter is that the prosperity of the Australian colonies, as a whole, depends upon the individual prosperity of each one of them. (Hear, hear.) If Victoria were to stand alone, or New South Wales, or any one of the Colonies, what would it be by itself ? We must all endeavour, whether we look to the interests of groups of Colonies or of the whole Empire, to realise how essential the units are to

each other and to the grand total. We must all stand by the great principle of keeping together. (Hear, hear.) I cannot conceive what possible interests there are—I never could see that there were any interests in either of the Colonies—which clash with the interests of the other Colonies. We have got there a magnificent territory stretching from South Australia right away up the east coast of Queensland, and the more the prosperity, the more the resources, of the whole of that territory are developed, so much the better will it be for every part of Australia. But I should like to make a few observations as to the astounding progress which has been made within the lives of men still living in the Australian Colonies. One of the members of the Council of this Institute was one of those who were concerned in making one of the greatest discoveries in connection with the territories of Australia: I refer to Sir George Macleay, in that celebrated expedition made down the Murrumbidgee River. In fact, when one looks at the marvellous progress that these Australian Colonies have made, one would think it impossible that any man could be alive at the present day—and we may hope he will continue long amongst us—who was concerned in the exploration of those important territories. We know the boat expedition went down this Murrumbidgee, and when amongst some rapids those who occupied it were suddenly shot out into the Murray, within a few seconds of their being aware of the existence of a new river, into which they were sent with so much impetus as to be almost carried against the opposite bank. They pursued their journey down the stream till they reached the sea, when they had to row back against the current, and did not arrive at the dépôt till their supply of provisions was exhausted. They were only just in time to recruit their strength, or the fate of too many other explorers might have been the termination of their expedition. When we think of all this, and the great development of these Colonies since it happened, it appears ages instead of only a few years ago. Well, with regard to the question of immigration, there is no doubt that that is the great want of Australian Colonies. If we could only get the people of the Colonies to see that what they want is population, and if we could only get the people of this country to see that there are too many people in this island already, and if we could get them both to work together for the great purpose of easing the pressure of population in this country and supplying the great dearth of inhabitants in that new land, what a splendid thing it would be for us all—particularly if we hold to the principle that we are an Empire, one and indivisible, and that we must all endeavour to promote the strength and

prosperity of this country, as well as that of the Colonies, and to develop those great resources which we have in the new lands of our Empire. That is the true means of firmly establishing our national greatness—(hear, hear)—and our national prosperity on a permanent footing. But if we continue here massing our population in this country in great towns and districts, where they have no chance of fresh air, where they live in wretched hovels and in damp and dismal neighbourhoods, what must be the effect upon the future generation of the people of this country? (Hear, hear.) The people of this country must deteriorate very considerably. Well, if we could get those people who are thus vegetating in this country to go out and people these new lands, we should add most permanently to the strength of our Empire, and all doubts and difficulties as to our future policy and capacity to cope with the growing strength of other Powers would be very speedily solved. (Hear, hear.)

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen,—As nobody seems inclined to add anything to the very interesting facts which Sir Daniel Cooper has laid before us, I think it is time that I should express your thanks to him for what he has stated. I quite concur with what Mr. Labilliere has said, that it is marvellous that a country which was discovered less than a hundred years ago should not only have made such progress as it has done, but should have been divided, should have broken up into so many interesting and thriving communities as are to be found in different parts of Australia. I agree also with Mr. Labilliere in hoping that those different communities may see a greater interest for themselves—greater benefit for themselves—in working together than in striving against each other. (Hear, hear.) I trust that those important and thriving Colonies may before long be united in some union more or less close, and that such union may ultimately lead to what this Institution has so constantly had before it, and which has indeed been one principal object of its foundation—a permanent and intimate union of the Colonies with the Parent-country. (Hear, hear.) Of course a private individual cannot tell what has been the motive for the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I, as a supporter of that Government, am not inclined to find fault unnecessarily with the policy they have pursued. But still I cannot help thinking that if all the different portions of the British Empire were united for military purposes, and were willing to throw their funds and their influence together, that we should have more weight in the councils of Europe and of the world than we have at present. (Hear, hear.) No doubt rising communities cannot be

expected to spend money; they have not the means of furnishing troops for Imperial purposes; but, perhaps, with the rapid progress they are making, they may be able to do so; and I am sure that the patriotism which I have seen amongst colonists always, and which is not to be seen more than in Canada, and is certain to be seen in Australia, will induce them to take a share in the position and influence of the world which Britons ought to assume and have a right to claim. (Hear, hear.) For that time to come there is necessarily required an increased population of those Colonies, as has been already alluded to. New Zealand, so ably and wisely advised by Sir Julius Vogel, has spent large sums in assisting emigration, and the Australian Colonies must remember that they have very important competitors for emigrants in the United States. (Hear, hear.) It is a much easier and shorter voyage, in the first place, and therefore much less costly for people to go to the United States than to Australia. They cannot expect emigrants to come such a distance, to undertake so long a voyage, which, they must also remember, has a much more alarming idea to people who have never crossed the sea than to residents in New Zealand and Australia who run backwards and forwards for a couple of months to the Antipodes. The people—the labouring classes—look upon the sea voyage as a very tremendous operation, besides the expense of it; and I am sure that anyone who has seen the benefit produced to any Colony by assisted emigration will admit that it is most desirable for the progress of the Colonies to introduce a considerable amount of English labour into them. (Hear, hear.) There is another class of persons, of course, who may emigrate, and who do great benefit to the Colonies, and those are the classes above the labouring classes, people with either large or small sums of capital, with enterprise; and I think it is very greatly to be regretted that so few healthy enterprising young men, perhaps of not very studious habits, but honourable and high-minded, should go to try their fortunes in the Colonies. I am convinced that it would be of benefit to the Colonies and the Empire that they should do so. (Hear, hear.) There was one subject referred to, that of deferred payments for land. I am not exactly sure what the system is in Australia, but I fancy it is a bare payment, almost a nominal rent for land. Is that so?

Sir DANIEL COOPER: One-fifth down and four-fifths after.

The PRESIDENT: Exactly; but I think the great fault of that is, that it is forgotten. But the fact of land being occupied, and land near it being also occupied, increases enormously the value of that land, apart from any improvements. (Hear, hear.) A

person takes up land without even making improvements on it; the fact of his taking it up, and others taking some up near him, makes that land the next year far more valuable than when he took it. I think, then, that in the system of deferred payment, the price ought to be largely increased with the number of years to which the payment is deferred. I have now to thank Sir Daniel Cooper for introducing to us this very interesting subject, which brings before us all the Australian Colonies, and I congratulate him in representing, as he does, so interesting a Colony. (Cheers.)

Sir DANIEL COOPER: I hope not to detain you long in my reply. Mr. Youl stated that he was sorry I had not given the quantity of gold produced by all the Colonies. My paper is on New South Wales, and I confined my remarks to that Colony, as I did not wish to include general topics applying to all the Colonies, such as gold, confederation, or free-trade, although by confining myself to the leading topics of one Colony I have presented less opening for discussion or differences of opinion. I was tempted to introduce one or two general subjects, but I wished to make my paper as concise as possible. I have all the figures before me as to the yield of gold in New South Wales, but I have not given them, as I did not wish to overload my subject with figures.

The PRESIDENT: Have you got the total amount of gold exported by the Colony since the discovery, or during last year?

Sir DANIEL COOPER: The export of gold for the year 1875 was a little over £2,000,000 sterling, and from 1851 to 1876, that is, twenty-five years, I think the average annual export is above £1,750,000, say £47,500,000 for the whole period. In 1848 the Legislative Council of New South Wales was the only representative Assembly, one-third of the members being nominated by the Government, and two-thirds elected by the people, the Ministers being the executive officers of the Government, and appointed by the Queen for life, or subject to good behaviour. Of course the Government was always very strong, and, if out-voted, could not be put out of office, and often the only recourse the Opposition had was to keep the debates open all night, and thus in a negative way to impress their will on any unpopular measure or Act, and, although unpleasant, it was generally a successful movement. The Port Phillip colonists, as they increased in numbers and prosperity, began early to seek for a separation from New South Wales. They knew they possessed a very fine district, although a small one, and their public men were very energetic. I recollect Mr. Westgarth, Mr. McKinnon, Mr. Ebdon, and others used to come as representatives to Sydney; but, finding that they could not

have as much their own way as they thought they ought to have, the Port Phillip electors tried to return Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Duke of Wellington, and other great notabilities, to represent them ; but when these men would not come to Sydney, they began to think they were really badly used, and at last induced the English Government to set them up on their own account, and well they have done, and they deserve all their success. People talk about the Colonies being so very jealous of each other, but in the same way parts of the United Kingdom are jealous of each other ; but in our little contentions we feel we are all Australians, and if we differ strongly in our opinions and policy on local questions, if any outsider came between us we should soon make common cause to kick him out, and let him know that we were, like Englishmen, managing our own affairs, and would succeed very well if let alone. The land question is not exactly as his Grace says. A free selector chooses and occupies his land, paying so much annually for the same, and with other conditions ; and if there were plenty of applicants for land, no doubt when he had fulfilled his conditions the adjoining land would have increased in value, but where there is more land in proportion than people, this is not the case ; in most instances it is not worth a farthing more. By the conditions of purchase a man must live and sleep on his selection, and cases are known where four members of a family have selected four allotments converging to a point, and built a four-roomed house on the same ; in such a case no one can tell, unless a watchman be kept, whether all the conditions are being fulfilled. This practice of trickery and chicanery morally corrupts them. These men often have not much to do with truth, and discuss, in a sort of local Parliament, how they can "do" the Commissioners, and they do often "do" them. If a man wants land he ought to buy and pay for it, or merely lease it, for to hold it on any other terms is not for the good of the State. There are other points in the system of conditional purchase and deferred payments which tend to corrupt the Government also. It causes a great number of electors to be debtors to the State, and these men too often will not vote for an independent and honourable representative, but rather for someone who will act as a mere delegate, and such a representative, being a mere tool of certain electors, is only too ready to be a tool to an unscrupulous Government. The questions in my paper will have a deeper meaning to those who know something of the land question of New South Wales than to those who hear me here. If I had remained in the Colony, and had continued to take part in public affairs, I expect I

should have lost my seat in the Assembly in consequence of the opinions I had expressed against unlimited free selections and deferred payments. I have always been in favour of limited free selection, and for giving every encouragement to the sale and occupation of the Crown lands by small proprietors; but it is useless to force such occupation if the buyer cannot pay cash for the land, or earn his living upon it, or if the conditions are such that the evasions of them not only become a public scandal, but affect the morals of the community as well as the Parliament and the Government. It would be better to sell the land at a reduced price without conditions, or to give leases with a right of purchase. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land are now being sold with only an extremely limited population to occupy them, and in this process the most of the land must pass into the hands of mere speculators. The waste land at the present rate of sale will be pretty well all disposed of in twenty years' time, whereas it ought to last for the next two hundred years. I know these ideas are unpopular to the masses in the Colony, but I must maintain them, and that we are wasting our resources. If the system in any way tended to remove more of the working classes from the townships, which is one of the great evils in all the Colonies, there might be something said for it, but this it evidently does not do. A man in the country is a working bee of the community, for, as a rule, he adds the pastoral and agricultural productions, and they are of far more consequence in a young community than even gold productions or manufactures. I do not care so much for the gold-producing interests, for I maintain that wool has been the backbone of Australian prosperity for years past, and will be so for years to come. Agriculture is advancing, but it cannot thoroughly succeed unless there is a large population. The Crown lands, if properly administered, and only sold to meet the real requirements of the population of the Colony, would tend greatly to its prosperity in future years, for they would be like a grand National Bank to draw upon as funds might be required. (Applause.)

The meeting then terminated.

FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute for this Session took place on Tuesday, February 26th, 1878, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street, His Grace the PRESIDENT in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following: Dr. and Mrs. Pugh (Victoria), Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. (Canada), Colonels T. St. L. Alcock, Ross, Fischer, R.E.; Major Evans, Dr. Beattie, Messrs. J. J. Casey (President of the Victoria Commission for the Paris Exhibition), James Farmer (New Zealand), George Collins Levey (Secretary of the Victoria Commission for the Paris Exhibition), Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S.; F. A. Du Croz John A'Deane (New Zealand), Thomas Tanner (New Zealand), J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria), Henry J. Jourdain, J. W. Holloway, Frederick Greene, S. Prus Szczepanowski, C. F. Gahan, R.N.; R. A. MacFie, S.W. Silver, Hugh A. Silver, G. Molineux (Canada), Captain G. H. Reinecker, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Russell (Victoria), Mr. H. E. Montgomerie and Mrs. Montgomerie (Canada), Messrs. F. P. Labilliere, George Green, R. Ryall (Cape Colony), Thomas Peterman (Cape Colony), W. B. Ryall, Hyde Clarke, D.C.L.; Thomas Hamilton, W. G. Lardner (West Indies), John Hewat, Abraham Hyams (Jamaica), Rev. James Johnson, Messrs. P. Capel Hanbury, James, Cuthbertson, John Charles Godwin, T. Bushford, G. W. Cooper, A. C. Praed (Queensland), R. B. Swinton, Miss Jane E. Glover, Messrs. T. Kingston, junior; Wm. Downes Griffith (Cape Colony), F. J. Augier, William Hemmant (Queensland), Alex. Rivington, Frederick Brittain (President of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce), Mrs. Roche, Messrs. W. T. Deverell (Victoria), W. S. Wetherell, G. T. Bean (South Australia), William Purdy (South Australia), George W. H. Bennett, W. K. Prince, Thomas Bourne, J. Henwood Thomas, P. H. Nind (Queensland), George Green (South Australia), Augustus B. Abraham (New Zealand), Thomas Glanville (Jamaica), G. H. Davenport (Queensland), R. B. Ringrose, Alexander Rogers (late Member of Council, Bombay), Frank E. Metcalfe (New Zealand), Wm. Nation, Sygurd T. Wisniowski, C. Bethell, Mr. Frederick Young and Miss Young, Messrs. R. J. Brown, W. F. Lawrence, J. F. H. Irwin, &c.

The HONORARY SECRETARY then read the minutes of the preceding Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed.

The DUKE OF MANCHESTER then said: Before asking Mr. Young to read the paper to you, I would wish to draw attention to a fact which I have observed in the Colonial papers of this last week. There has no sooner been an alarm of the possibility of this country being involved in war, than I see the best proof in the world that our Colonies are not preparing to separate from the Empire—(hear, hear)—for I observe from the north-west to the south-east, equally, statements that the Colonies are preparing to defend themselves against any enemy which may oppose the interests and the honour

of the Empire to which I know they are proud to belong. (Cheers.) I think it quite necessary and useful to call attention to this fact; I do so in as few words as possible, and it is not necessary to enforce the importance of such an announcement as that; it is one which increases enormously the power—and I will use the word prestige, though many people object to such a term, it is an expressive one—and it increases the prestige of the Empire, and I am glad to read it. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Honorary Secretary, in the absence, through indisposition, of its author, Dr. J. Forbes Watson, Director of the India Museum, to read the following paper on—

THE CHARACTER OF THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN
TRADE OF ENGLAND CONTRASTED WITH HER
FOREIGN TRADE.

Two years ago I had occasion to compare the trade carried on between the United Kingdom and the British possessions with that between the United Kingdom and foreign countries. The results of that comparison were published at the time,* the figures then given being those for 1874. Desirous of ascertaining to what extent the conclusions then formed would be borne out by later statistics, I recently examined the Trade Returns for 1876, the last ones published, and was struck not only by the large relative increase of that portion of our trade which is carried on with our own possessions, but also by the evidences afforded of the peculiarly advantageous nature of that trade. Our Colonial trade, in fact, is distinguished from our foreign trade by certain characteristics which considerably enhance the degree of importance it already possesses on account of its magnitude. It is the purpose of the present paper to endeavour to throw some light on these special characteristics: and I here wish to state that in the course of this investigation I have derived a large amount of most valuable assistance from Mr. Stanislas Prus Szczezanowski—to whom I am the more indebted as the pressure of other work at the present time would have left me without the necessary leisure for the working out of the multifarious details of so complicated a subject as this one has proved itself to be.

In the following observations I shall leave out of consideration the earlier history of the progress of our Colonial Trade. This subject has already been exhaustively dealt with in the elaborate papers by Mr. G. T. Danson and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, pub-

* On the Establishment of an Imperial Museum for India and the Colonies. London, 1876.

lished in the *Statistical Society's Journal* for November, 1849, and March, 1872, respectively, as also in those read before this Institute by Mr. Strangways and others. The period of eight years from 1869 to 1876 is, therefore, the one to which I propose to direct attention. But before proceeding further, it may be well to give here a brief view of the principal divisions of our Colonial Empire, and then to indicate the reasons which make it expedient to select the year 1869 as the standard of comparison.

In the following table (p. 111) will be found the principal data referring to the trade and population of the different Colonies, which have been grouped as follows:—

- (a) Trading and military stations, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malta.
- (b) Plantation Colonies, such as the West Indies, Ceylon, and Mauritius.
- (c) Agricultural, pastoral, and mining Colonies, such as Australia, Canada, and the Cape.

This table was worked out two years ago on the basis of the returns for 1874. As it is quoted here solely with the view of illustrating the striking differences in the functions, so to speak, of each of these three groups of Colonies, the figures for that year will answer the purpose; nor would the results have been materially affected by the substitution of later figures. These results may be thus briefly summarised:—

Taking first the last named but most important group of Colonies, viz. the Agricultural, Pastoral, and Mining Colonies, we find that they contain a European population of above six millions, and that their trade with England amounts per head of the European population to £88 in the case of the Cape, £18 in the case of Australia, and £8 in the case of the North American Colonies.

The extent of the commercial relations with England which these figures imply, may be best gathered from the fact that the corresponding figure for the English trade with the United States—the foreign country which has the most extensive commercial relations with England—would be £2 5s. per head, or not much more than one-third of that for Canada, about one-seventh of that for Australia, and about one-fifteenth of that which shows the trade with England of a colonist at the Cape.

In the case of the Cape, however, the estimated amount of trade for each white inhabitant is naturally greater than that for Australia and Canada, from the fact that the Cape contains a

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION AND TRADE OF THE COLONIES.

NAME OF COLONY.	Total Population.	English or European population exclusive of naval and military establishments.	Total exports and imports.	Trade with England, exports and imports (merchandise only).	REMARKS.
I.—Trading Stations.					
Hong Kong	124,198	2,979	Not known.	£ 4,667,000	{ 24 million tons entered the port in 1874.
Straits Settlements	307,961	1,360	26,635,000	5,413,000	
Labuan	4,898	43	189,000	{ 1,631,000	{ 1,631,000 tons entered the port of Singapore in 1874.
Gold Coast	400,000	70	556,000		
Lagos	28,963	94	835,000		
Sierra Leone and Gambia	53,126	311	1,267,000		
Aden	22,507	117	2,630,000	539,000	{ The second column contains only the number of the English population.
Malta	145,699	850*	16,205,000	1,283,000	
Gibraltar	25,316	1,800*	Not known.	1,316,000	
Total	1,112,458	7,596	Not known.	£14,738,000	{ Probably not less than £75,000,000.
II.—Plantation Colonies.					
The Bahamas	39,162	6,800	314,000	{ 9,782,000	
Leeward Islands. { Antigua	36,167	2,146	343,000		
Montserrat	8,693	240	57,000		
St. Christopher	26,169	1,600	275,000		
Nevis	11,735	600	135,000		
Anguilla	2,732	100	—		
Virgin Islands	6,426	500	—		
Dominica	27,178	800	125,000		
Windward Islands. { Barbadoes	162,042	16,580	2,190,000		
St. Vincent	36,698	2,344	362,000		
Grenada	37,694	1,000	266,000		
Tobago	17,064	250	91,000		
St. Lucia	31,610	900	273,000		
Turk's and Caicos Islands	4,723	500	45,000		
Trinidad	109,638	5,000	2,744,000		
Jamaica	608,164	13,000	3,205,000		
British Guiana	212,000	15,000	4,635,000		
British Honduras	24,710	377	419,000	257,000	
Mauritius	331,371	15,000	5,135,000	1,659,000	
Ceylon	2,401,086	18,700	10,379,000	4,840,000	
Total	4,039,963	101,017	£31,000,000	£16,538,000	
III.—Agricultural, Pastoral and Mining Colonies.					
AFRICA:—					
Cape and Kaffraria	776,168	200,000	{ 9,792,000	{ 8,999,000	
Grigoland West	50,000	15,000			
Natal	317,000	20,000			
Total	1,143,168	235,000	11,684,000	8,999,000	
AUSTRALASIA:—					
Victoria	808,000	808,000	32,395,000	{ 30,217,000	
New South Wales	584,000	584,000	23,640,000		
Queensland	164,000	159,000	7,088,000		
South Australia	203,000	206,000	8,395,000		
West Australia	26,000	26,000	793,000		
Tasmania	104,000	104,000	2,183,000		
New Zealand	246,000	294,000	13,373,000		
Total	2,236,000	2,180,000	87,837,000	30,217,000	
NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES:—					
Dominion of Canada } and Newfoundland }	3,747,000	3,747,000	42,533,000	23,070,000	
Total Colonies	12,271,609	6,270,613	Not known.	101,563,000	

considerable native population, which helps to increase its producing and consuming power.

In the case of the Plantation Colonies, in which the number of European settlers is altogether insignificant as compared with the native population, the trade per white inhabitant ranges still higher, amounting to £810 of total trade, and to £165 of English trade. Although in the case of these Colonies the bulk of the imports is consumed by the native population, and the bulk of the exports produced by native labour, the practice of estimating the trade per head of the white inhabitants only is justified by the consideration that but for the capital and enterprise of the European planters, the bulk of the trade would probably not have existed.

In the case of the Trading stations, the few European residents are only the intermediaries of a trade carried on, in reality, not with the population of the Colony, but with the adjacent foreign countries, and in this case the numbers for each white inhabitant rise to £10,000 of total trade, and to £2,000 of English trade.

The principal data for each class of Colonies are recapitulated in the following tabular form :—

Description of Colony.	European Population.	Total Trade.	Trade with England.	Total Trade.	Trade with England.
		Milns. £	Milns. £	Per White Inhabitant in Colony.	Per White Inhabitant in Colony.
TRADING STATIONS	7,600	75	14½	10,000	2,000
PLANTATION COLONIES	100,000	31	16½	310	165
AGRICULTURAL, PASTORAL, AND MINING COLONIES—					
Cape and Natal	235,000	11½	9	49	38
Australasia	2,180,000	88	39	42	18
North American Colonies.....	3,750,000	48½	22	13	6

In a view of the trade of the whole of the British possessions, the Indian trade must be included with that of the Colonies proper. A few years ago such a course might have required some special justification, India being then often considered as standing quite apart from the Colonies, and having few or no bonds of common interest uniting her with them, but the generous sympathy which in the past year Australia has shown for the famine-stricken populations of Southern India, affords conclusive proof that our colonists, as well as the people of England, recognise that all parts of the British Empire are one in feeling and in interests.

India, moreover, partakes to a considerable extent of the character of the two first classes of Colonies. Assam, the Nilgiris, the Himalayan valleys, and parts of the Gangetic valley, are as truly plantation Colonies as Mauritius or Demerara. European planters, assisted by a native population, raise there crops of indigo, tea, coffee, and chinchona in exactly the same manner as sugar is raised in Mauritius, or coffee in Ceylon. Bombay and Calcutta moreover, are European trading stations, quite analogous to Hong Kong and Singapore. It is even within the bounds of possibility that India may in a limited degree acquire also the characteristics of the last-named class of Colonies, and become in the future the home of real European communities. In placing, therefore, the Indian trade on the same footing as that of the Colonies, one is guided not only by sentiment, but also by indisputable analogy.

The period of eight years which has been selected for comparison, just marks the beginning and the end of that period of extraordinary inflation of trade which followed the Franco-German War. The year 1869 presents in every way many analogies with that of 1876. Both were years of depression, subsequent upon years of great excitement. The year which followed 1869 witnessed the beginning of a wonderful development of trade; and probably that which followed 1876 would, but for the political complications in the East, have been likewise marked by a recovering trade. The years 1869 and 1876 were also both pre-eminently normal years, in which trade depended more upon the permanent economical conditions of the world than upon any accidental circumstances. There is also this advantage, that, with the exception of the heavy fall in the value of cotton, the general level of prices is very similar in the two years, so that a comparison of the values alone may also be taken as representing approximately the relative bulk of trade done in the two years.

In the trade returns for the year 1876, the first circumstance which attracts attention is that India stands ahead of every other country as the one which absorbed the largest quantity of British produce and merchandise, whereas in 1869 it only occupied the third rank, both the United States and Germany coming before it. Another interesting fact is, that in 1876 for the first time, the British exports to Australia exceeded those to the United States, although the population of the latter exceeds that of Australia almost twenty-fold. In that year the exports to Australia amounted to £17,700,000 in value, while to the States they only amounted to £16,100,000.

These two facts at once point to the change which has taken

place between the years 1869 and 1876, viz. to the growth of the trade with British possessions, and to the diminution of that carried on with foreign countries. Between these two dates the exports of British home produce to the British possessions increased by £17,000,000, while the exports to foreign countries diminished by £6,000,000. Thus but for the great expansion of the Colonial and Indian markets, the export trade of 1876 would have shown a diminution as compared with that of 1869, instead of which there is an increase in the sum total of exports from £189,000,000 to about £200,000,000. This result will appear even more striking when we compare the figures for the two final years with those for all the intervening years, as shown in the subjoined table:—

YEAR.	EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE.			Percentage of Colonial and Indian Trade.
	To Foreign Countries.	To British Possessions.	Total.	
	Milns. £	Milns. £	Milns. £	Per cent.
1869	141·9	48·1	190·0	25·3
1870	147·8	51·8	199·6	26·0
1871	171·8	51·3	223·1	23·0
1872	195·7	60·6	256·3	23·6
1873	188·8	66·3	255·2	26·0
1874	167·3	72·3	239·6	30·2
1875	152·4	71·1	224·5	31·8
1876	135·8	64·9	200·7	32·3

It will be noticed that the export trade to foreign countries was subject to great fluctuations, increasing from £141,900,000 in 1869 to £195,700,000 in 1872, but subsequently falling to much below its initial amount, whilst the proportion of Colonial and Indian trade has steadily risen from 25·8 per cent. to 32·3 per cent., that is, from about a fourth to a third of the entire exports. Although there is an absolute falling off from 1875 to 1876, even that is due more to lower prices than to any great diminution in the quantity of the merchandise exported.

In order to account for the greater steadiness of the Colonial trade, it is necessary to review in detail the trade in the different articles of export.

One important fact is apparent from even a cursory examination of the trade list. It is, that although the average share of the Colonies and India in the English export trade does not exceed one-third of its total value, there are a great many articles which are exported chiefly to the Colonies, and in which the Colonial and Indian share amounts to from one-half to three-fourths of the whole

quantity exported. On examination, it is found that the articles which show this predominance of Colonial demand are all related in character to each other, and that they may be arranged in a few well-defined groups.

There is first a group including articles of personal use and attire, such as apparel, haberdashery and millinery, hats, boots, umbrellas, &c. The proportion of the total quantity of these articles exported to India and the Colonies is shown below for the two years 1869 and 1876.*

	Proportion exported to the British possessions in	
	1869.	1876.
Apparel and slops	70·6 per cent.	88·6 per cent.
Hosiery (stockings and socks only) ...	48·1 "	62·0 "
Haberdashery and millinery	57·1 "	76·1 "
Hats	67·9 "	56·0 "
Boots and shoes	78·5 "	87·5 "
Blankets and flannels	57·0 "	74·7 "
Umbrellas.....	56·9 "	74·4 "
Total articles of personal use and attire	63·5 per cent	78·5 "
Total value of articles	£29·5 millions	£10·8 millions.
Value exported to British possessions	£8·0 "	£8·5 "

There is another group of exports allied to the previous one, and comprising a variety of articles of domestic consumption, such as provisions, pickles, beer and ale, soap, medicines, and perfumery, as well as books, musical instruments, saddlery and harness, hardware and cutlery. The preponderance of Colonial demand for all the articles in this group, if not quite so striking as it is in the previous one, is yet very considerable. The actual proportion taken in the two years 1869 and 1876 by the British possessions is shown below :—

	Proportion of Total Value exported to the British possessions in	
	1869.	1876.
Cheese	53·5 per cent.	78·0 per cent.
Pickles, vinegar, and sauce	69·0 "	76·9 "
Provisions (unenumerated)	59·1 "	57·3 "
British spirits	47·4 "	88·2 "
Beer and ale	68·5 "	77·6 "
Soap	54·1 "	72·7 "
Medicines	52·1 "	62·4 "
Perfumery.....	55·4 "	59·3 "
Candles	92·8 "	89·0 "
Glass of all kinds.....	57·0 "	68·4 "
Lucifer matches	76·7 "	89·0 "

* In the Trade Returns the Channel Islands are included among the British possessions. In order not to disturb the correspondence of the totals shown in this paper with those of the Trade Returns, they have been similarly treated in this paper. The value of any article exported to unenumerated countries has been divided between foreign countries and British possessions in the same proportion as that ascertained for the enumerated countries.

Proportion of Total Value exported to the British possessions in

	1869.	1876.
Furniture	59.5 per cent.	78.0 per cent.
Musical instruments	88.4 "	85.8 "
Paper-hangings and stationery.....	81.0 "	83.9 "
Books.....	44.5 "	64.6 "
Plated and gilt wares	57.1 "	67.6 "
Cordage.....	67.7 "	75.1 "
Saddlery and harness	68.7 "	86.6 "
Hardware and cutlery	28.3 "	40.6 "

Averages for the articles of domestic consumption.....	52.7 per cent	64.7 per cent
Total value of group	£11.3 millions	£12.8 millions
Value exported to the British possessions	£6.0 "	£8.3 "

The articles just enumerated have this feature in common, that they are all exported in the final stage of preparation, and ready for immediate consumption; as such, therefore, they represent for the same weight and value a larger proportion of British labour than those articles which have yet to undergo some process of manufacture in order to fit them for immediate use. Not only do the British possessions take by far the larger proportion of such articles, but on comparing the two years 1869 and 1876, we find that, large as the Colonial share was in 1869, it is larger still in 1876, the percentages of the Colonial demand for the latter year being almost uniformly higher than they are for the former. It is especially interesting to examine in detail the change which has taken place within this short period of eight years. The results are so uniform, that it is sufficient to mention only a few of the principal articles above referred to, together with the totals for each class. The values and percentages exported to British possessions and to foreign countries are shown below:—

		Exports in 1869. Mlins. £	1876. Mlins. £	Increase or Decrease per cent.
Apparel and slops	{ to F. countries ...	.7	.4	51.8 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 1.7		2.7	55.8 increase.
Haberdashery and millinery	{ to F. countries ...	1.6	.9	56.1 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 2.1		2.9	34.5 increase.
Total of articles of personal use and attire	{ to F. countries ...	3.5	2.3	33.3 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 6.1		8.5	40.8 increase.
Beer and ale	{ to F. countries ...	.6	.4	27.5 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 1.3		1.5	14.9 increase.
Hardware and cutlery ...	{ to F. countries ...	2.6	2.1	19.6 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 1.0		1.4	38.6 increase.
Total of articles of domestic consumption ...	{ to F. countries ...	5.3	4.5	15.4 decrease.
	{ to B. possessions... 6.0		8.3	38.7 increase.
Total of articles of personal use and attire and of domestic consumption {	Total exports ...	20.8	23.6	13.5 increase.
	to F. countries..	8.8	6.8	22.4 decrease.
	to B. possessions	12.0	16.8	40.0 increase.

It will be noticed throughout that the exports to foreign countries are marked by a striking decrease, while the exports to the Colonies exhibit an even more striking increase, amounting on the average to about 40 per cent.—an increase which far more than outweighs the decrease in the foreign demand. The proportion of these articles exported to the British possessions is now so great, that in 1876, out of a total export of £28,600,000, they took as much as £16,800,000, or about 70 per cent. of the whole exports of this class, whereas their share in 1869 amounted to only 58 per cent., thus showing the growing dependence of that portion of British trade upon Colonial demand.

There are likewise several other trades, some of them the leading export trades of England, which in the same way become every year more dependent upon the demand from the British Empire itself. Foremost amongst them is the cotton trade, which alone constitutes about one-third of the whole of the English exports. The comparative growth of the Indian and Colonial demand for cotton manufactures since 1869 is shown below.

	1869. Mlins. £	1876. Mlins. £	Comparative increase or decrease per cent.
Plain cotton piece goods... {	Total export ... 80·1	81·5	4·6 increase.
	to F. countries.. 18·7	16·1	14·6 decrease.
	to B. possessions 11·4	15·4	35·8 increase.
Total cotton manufactures {	Total export ... 53·3	54·9	3·6 increase.
exclusive of yarn {	to F. countries.. 37·4	32·9	11·9 decrease.
	to B. possessions 15·6	22·0	40·3 increase.

The general result is the same as in the class of articles already examined, that is, a decrease of foreign demand, and an even more rapid growth of the demand from the British possessions, which in the year 1876 absorbed 40 per cent more cotton manufactures than in 1869. As regards the trade in plain cotton piece-goods, the quantity exported to the British possessions in 1876 amounted to very nearly one-half of the entire exports, or to £15,400,000 out of a total of £31,500,000, a result which must be attributed to the great expansion of the Indian trade. As regards the whole of the cotton manufactures, the quantity exported to the British possessions in 1876 amounted to about two-fifths of the entire export, or £22,000,000 out of a total of £54,900,000,—being about £6,800,000 more than in the year 1869; whereas the export of cotton manufactures to foreign countries diminished during the same period by about £4,500,000. Thus the growth of the Indian and Colonial demand for cotton manufactures and the corresponding decline of the foreign demand, show about the same ratio as that already observed in the case of articles of personal use and of domestic consumption.

These results are well calculated to excite apprehension regarding the future of our trade with foreign countries. It must be remembered that the year 1869 was specially selected as being a comparatively normal year, and one in which the foreign demand was very much smaller than in the years subsequent to the Franco-German war, and yet the year 1876 shows a further reduction even upon such a comparatively unfavourable year as 1869. Had the figures for 1876 been compared with those of any of the immediately preceding years, the diminution of the foreign demand would have appeared still more alarming.

Similar observations apply to most of the other trades, the present foreign demand as compared with that of 1869 being either stationary or declining, whilst the exports to the British possessions are rapidly rising. Thus as regards the silk manufactures, while the quantity exported to foreign countries has only slightly increased, the export to British possessions has increased more than fourfold, having risen from £180,000 to £818,000. In general, it is safe to assume that of those articles exported in an advanced stage of preparation, a considerable and rapidly increasing proportion go to the British possessions, whilst those articles which have still to undergo some manufacturing process to fit them for immediate use, are mainly exported to foreign countries.

It is interesting to notice how uniformly this remark applies to every class of British exports, as will appear from the following numbers:—

		Exports in 1876 to Foreign Countries.		British Possessions.		Proportion exported to British Possessions.	
		Milns. £		Milns. £			
Cotton industry	Yarn.....	9.9	...	2.9	...	21.9	per cent.
	Manufactures	32.9	...	22.0	...	40.0	"
Woollen industry	Yarn (woollen, worsted, and alpaca).....	5.1	...	.014	...	.3	"
	Manufactures	14.2	...	4.4	...	23.4	"
Iron industry	Pig, puddled, and old iron ...	2.8	...	.1	...	3.6	"
	Manufactured iron of all kinds	9.6	...	6.5	...	40.4	"
Steel industry	Steel, wrought and unwrought	1.3	...	.3	...	17.7	"
	Hardware and cutlery	2.1	...	1.4	...	40.6	"
	Tools and implements .....	.2	...	.2	...	53.2	"
Total of { Half manufactures		19.1	...	3.3	...	14.7	per cent
the above { Finished manufactures		59.0	...	34.5	...	36.8	"

Thus the Colonies take 40 per cent. of the finished cotton manufactures, and only 21.9 per cent of the cotton yarn exported; they take 23.4 per cent. of all the woollen and worsted manufactures, and only .3 per cent. of the yarn; they take 40.4 per cent. of manufac-

tured iron, and only 8·6 per cent. of pig, puddled, and old iron ; and finally, whilst of steel—wrought and unwrought—they take only 17·7 per cent., their share of hardware and cutlery amounts to 40·6 per cent., and of implements and tools to 53·2 per cent. For the whole of the above industries, which together form the mainstay of our export trade, the proportion of unfinished manufactures exported to the British possessions amounted to only 14·7 per cent., while of finished manufactures the proportion rose to 86·8 per cent. of the value exported to all countries.

The export trade to the British possessions is thus distinguished from that to foreign countries by two marked characteristics. The first is the steadiness and rapidity of its growth as compared with the violent fluctuations to which the foreign demand is liable ; the second is the preponderance in the exports of finished manufactures over those in various stages of preparation, or what may be termed half-manufactures. Both these characteristics tend very much to our advantage. On the one hand, the comparative steadiness of the Colonial and Indian markets render trade with them less subject to sudden losses, whilst the permanent expansion of these markets has mitigated, and to a considerable extent neutralised, the disastrous effects produced by the rapid withdrawal during the last four years of a considerable portion of the foreign demand. On the other hand, the preponderance of finished goods among the exports to the Colonies and India, means that they represent a larger amount of British labour than is represented by an equal value of exports to foreign countries. It may be reasonably inferred, therefore, that the British possessions which consume British goods to the extent of almost one-third of our total exports, give employment to considerably more than one-third of the working population employed by our export trade.

These two characteristics of our Colonial trade are in reality due to one and the same primary cause. It is, that in the case of our own possessions the consumers of our manufactures constitute the bulk of the populations ; hence the demand is subject only to those fluctuations produced by the comparatively slow and more or less regular changes in their numbers and wealth.

But in the case of many foreign countries our manufactures are merely subsidiary to a large local supply. To a considerable extent, also, our exports to foreign countries do not go directly to the consumer, but are imported by the foreign manufacturers themselves as a kind of raw material entering into their own manufactures. The foreign demand for English manufactures has therefore in the case of many countries no necessary relation with either the numbers

of the population, or their total consuming power for a given article, and is liable to be disproportionately affected by even slight fluctuations in the aggregate consumption. Hence such variations as those which have taken place in the exports to the United States, which from £40,700,000 in 1872 fell to £18,800,000 in 1876, or as those presented by the exports to Germany, which between the same years declined from £31,600,000 to £20,100,000.

On the whole, it might be held that, in consequence of its dependence upon the regularly increasing consuming powers of the vast bulk of the population, the export trade to our possessions partakes largely of the character of our own internal trade, and the additional markets obtained for our manufactures may in every way be considered as being simply extensions of our home market. This is especially the case as regards those Colonies which are really peopled by English settlers, such as Canada, the Cape, and Australia.

The similarity existing between our Colonial and our home markets cannot be better illustrated than by a comparison of the consumption of English manufactures in Australia with their consumption in England itself. For this purpose it would be necessary to know the total annual value of our manufactures and other articles of trade such as are exported to Australia. Nothing, however, is more difficult than to make such a calculation. The direct data bearing upon the subject are so few that an estimate must of necessity be, to a certain extent, purely conjectural. It is possible, however, to obtain one sufficiently accurate for the purpose of such a rough comparison as is alone required here.

In the "Review of the Commercial and Financial History of the year 1876," published in the *Economist*, will be found an estimate of the value of the entire production of cotton manufactures in Great Britain for a series of years back. By deducting from the total value of goods produced in each year the cost of raw cotton consumed during the year, a number is obtained which represents the whole cost of manufacture, that is, the sum of wages, profits, and other incidental expenses in the manufacture. It may not unreasonably be supposed that this number will bear a certain fixed relation to the number of people employed, since, as long as no radical change takes place in the process of manufacture, the capital invested in machinery, the cost of fuel, and other expenses, will be proportionate to the number of workmen. In fact, by taking from the factory returns the total number of people employed at the cotton factories, and by assessing the additional value imparted to the raw material by the labour of each man at

from £100 to £120 per annum, we obtain numbers approaching very closely to the estimate in the *Economist*. For the year 1876 it would amount to about £110. This sum represents not merely the wages of the workman, but likewise the cost of fuel and other expenses required to keep going the machinery controlled by him, together with the profit of the manufacturer. It is an amount, moreover, which, if multiplied by the number of men employed, agrees remarkably well with the known value of the total production of some other trades quite dissimilar from the cotton trade, such as coal-mining, for instance. Nor is this very surprising, because the system of work adopted throughout the range of our manufacturing industries is essentially the same. It consists in the largest possible use of steam power, men being employed as far as possible merely in the guidance of that power. Hence in the value produced there appears to exist a certain average ratio between the share of the capital and that of the manual labour, which is almost identical in many of the trades. Moreover, even in those cases, such as mining, for instance, in which manual labour alone would appear at first sight to bear more than the average ratio to the value produced, there may be some compensating circumstances, such as payments on account of ground-rent, or of royalties, and other costs, which bring up the share of the capital to the proportion prevailing in other trades; and even when such is not the case, the trade is probably one which, as watch-making, for instance, may require, on account of the very absence of machinery and of capital expenditure, such an amount of highly-paid skill on the part of the workman, that his own wages alone will run up to nearly the same sum as wages, plus the working expenses, will amount to in other trades. It would seem, therefore, that by estimating the average annual value of the labour of every person occupied in our manufactures at from £100 to £120, a result will be obtained which at any rate will not be greatly inaccurate. To this amount must yet be added the cost of the raw material employed.

By calculating on this method the total value of the annual production of English manufactures and exportable goods of all kinds, we arrive at the following results :—

Taking first the textile industries, it will be appear from a subsequent calculation that the value of textile raw materials used in 1876 will have amounted to a sum of about £70,000,000. According to the last factory returns, the entire number of persons employed in the textile industry amounted to almost exactly one million. The value of their labour, assessed at the same rate as

that which applies to the cotton trade of that year, viz. £110, would produce a sum of £110,000,000, which represents the additional value imparted to the raw material by the process of manufacture. The total produce of our textile industries would thus have amounted in 1876 to £180,000,000.

The other branches of trade producing exportable articles are the chemical, mining, and metal industries, the manufacture of glass, earthenware, paper, furniture, leather, and carriages, together with the production of books, tools, and machinery, and other miscellaneous articles of commerce. This includes almost the whole range of industrial employment, with the exception of the building, dress-making, and other trades, which do not participate to any appreciable extent in the export trade. As regards the value of raw material employed in these industries, it must be remarked that to a considerable extent they produce their own raw material. For instance, almost the whole of the iron consumed in the various metal manufactures is of English make, and its value is completely accounted for by the labour and capital engaged in the mining of the iron ore, and in its subsequent smelting, puddling, and the other processes of after preparation. Hence, beyond the small amount of foreign iron ore imported, it is not necessary to make in this case any special provision for the cost of raw materials. The number, therefore, which must be added to the value produced by the labour of the persons engaged in these trades, as representing the value of raw material, applies only to that portion of it which is either imported from abroad, or else produced in England itself by other labour than that already included in these trades. It will contain the whole of our imports of foreign metals and ores, of hides, skins and leather, of chemicals and precious stones, of oils and fats, and also of a certain proportion of timber, together with such a portion of these articles as is supplied by our own agriculture. The value of all these items can be roughly estimated at £45,000,000 for the year 1876.

The number of persons engaged in all the trades, as given in the census returns, amounts in round numbers to about 1,750,000. It is proposed to roughly assess the produce of their labour at £100 per head. This is a smaller number than that adopted for the textile trades, and it will require some justification, considering that on account of the preponderance of male labour and of higher wages throughout the mining and metal trades, one might have been rather led to assess the value of the annual labour of each worker at a higher figure than that used for the textile trade. It may be remarked, however, that the number of the textile working

population is taken from the factory returns, which are uniformly lower than the census returns for the same year, and probably correspond more nearly to the number of persons actually employed, the census numbers including all those nominally engaged in the trade, whether employed or not.

It is also to be taken into consideration that a certain allowance for fuel and for machinery has already been made in the item of "other expenses," entering into the cost of the textile manufactures, so that, properly speaking, a certain proportion of miners, of ironworkers, and of mechanics might have been included as working in the textile industry, inasmuch as all the results of their labour are consumed by that industry, and do not appear in any way as independent manufactures and as swelling the sum total of national production. Hence, by not deducting the above number of men from those employed in the production of manufactures other than textile, a certain amount of work is practically counted twice over. But by assessing the value of individual labour at a lower rate than would otherwise have appeared warranted, the error of over-estimating the numbers employed may thus be held to be compensated to a certain extent. At this rate, the value produced by the labour of the 1,750,000 of persons will amount to £175,000,000, which, added to the £45,000,000 estimated as the cost of raw material, will bring the value of all the manufactures, other than textile, produced in the United Kingdom to about £220,000,000. With the £180,000,000 of textiles, our entire industrial production would thus reach the figure of £400,000,000 per annum, employing a working population of 2,750,000, which number would be increased to at least 3,000,000, if the census figures were substituted for those returned by the factory inspectors. It will be noticed that our exports which in 1876 amounted to £200,000,000, were in that year equal to one-half of the whole of our manufacturing production, so that the export trade supplied in that year employment to 1,500,000 of our population, assuming that the small proportion of food, &c., contained in the exports required the same number of workmen for its production as an equivalent value of manufactures.

At first sight, this estimate of the manufacturing production of the United Kingdom would appear rather inadequate, especially if we consider that the value of manufactures is supposed to represent by far the most considerable proportion of the entire production of these islands. It must, however, be kept in mind that the trades not included among the purely manufacturing trades have yet a vast aggregate importance. Great as our textile industries are, yet

dress-making, boot-making, and other cognate occupations employ more persons than the entire production of textiles. Our iron trade stands among our manufacturing industries next in rank to the textile trades, and yet it does not employ as many people as the building trade. Then there is the carrying trade, of which only a certain fraction will appear among the "other expenses" of the manufacturing production. Thus, independently of the agricultural production, the annual value of all the other trades not classed with the manufacturing trades must be very considerable, and will, when added to the above estimate of the manufacturing production, be found quite sufficient to bring up the whole annual production of the United Kingdom to the figures usually adopted by the best authorities. If I might venture to assess in figures the probable accuracy of the estimate, I would say that 10 per cent. above or below, or a sum of about £40,000,000, will probably represent the maximum amount of error which may have been made. This means that I cannot well conceive the entire manufacturing production to be lower than £360,000,000, nor much higher than £440,000,000; though the estimate of £400,000,000 will probably be much nearer to the true value than an error of 10 per cent. would imply. Such an approximation to the true figure is quite sufficient for the purpose of calculating roughly the internal consumption of our manufactures, and of establishing the substantial identity of the Colonial and the Home markets.

The exports of British and Irish produce for 1876 may be roughly divided as follows:—

Food and agricultural produce	£11,750,000
Textile manufactures	£112,750,000
Other produce and manufactures	£76,000,000
	<hr/>
Total	£200,500,000

Thus about £189,000,000 of manufactures, out of a total estimated production of £400,000,000, are exported, leaving for internal consumption a sum of £211,000,000, consisting of about £67,000,000 of textiles and of about £144,000,000 of other manufactures.

On the other hand, the entire exports of British and Irish produce to Australia in 1876 may be thus classified:—

Food and agricultural produce.....	£1,250,000
Textile manufactures of all kinds.....	7,250,000
All other goods and manufactures	9,000,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	£17,500,000

The comparative consuming powers of England and Australia would thus be represented by the following figures :—

Population.	Consumption of English manufactures.		
	Textile manufactures.	Other m'factures.	Tot. m'factures.
England—33,000,000	{ Total..... £67,000,000	£144,000,000	£211,000,000
	{ Per head. £2	£4 7s.	£6 7s.
Australia—2,250,000	{ Total..... £7,250,000	£9,000,000	£16,250,000
	{ Per head. £3 4s.	£4	£7 4s.

We thus arrive at the striking result that Australia actually consumes in proportion to its population a larger quantity of English manufactures than we do ourselves, each Australian consuming English manufactures to the extent of £7 4s. per annum, while their consumption per head in England only amounts to £6 7s. As regards textiles especially, the Australian consumption reaches a sum of £3 4s. per head, against an English consumption of only £2. There are, however, a few remarks to be made which will show that the English consuming power as indicated by the above estimate is rated at too low a figure. In the first place, among the exports of textiles to Australia there is a very considerable proportion of made-up goods—apparel and millinery—so that the Australian estimate includes the value of the tailoring and dress-making labour contained in those goods, whereas all similar labour has been excluded from the English estimate, which only includes the consumption of manufactures in their not-made-up condition. It might also be remarked that the figure of £189,000,000, taken as representing the value of the English manufactures exported, is swollen to a certain extent by charges other than those representing the original cost of manufacture. For instance, to give an extreme example, the value of coal at the place of shipment for export is about twice what it possesses at the pit, hence only half of the value given in the trade returns can be assigned to the original cost of its production. Similar deductions would have to be made in the case of the other manufactures, so that the value of £189,000,000 taken from the trade returns will not represent more than, perhaps, £180,000,000, or even only £175,000,000 of manufactures valued at their cost of production. Thus the estimated value of manufactured goods remaining for home consumption may well be increased from £211,000,000 to £220,000,000, or even £225,000,000, which would give a rather higher figure of individual consumption in England than the above figures indicate. On the other hand, our estimate of the total manufactures includes such goods as furniture and carriages, and others which do not enter largely into our export trade, but are chiefly consumed at home; so that, after making all possible allowances for under-estimation in

the case of England, and over-estimation in the case of Australia, I believe that the result arrived at is substantially true, and that, as regards most classes of articles, Australia consumes in proportion to its population a larger quantity of English goods than does England itself. This result agrees entirely with what we know of the resources of the mass of the population in Australia, compared with the straitened circumstances of many of the corresponding classes at home.

I do not wish to imply that I consider it either probable or desirable that the Australian colonists should remain in the future as completely dependent upon the supply of manufactures from England as they now are. Doubtless a certain amount of manufacturing industry will spring up in Australia itself; and whatever opinion one may have as to the expediency of the methods by means of which some of the Colonies wish to bring about this result, there is no question that a diversity of occupations, and a proper admixture of industrial with agricultural labour, is favourable to the development of a really well-balanced community. Nor need such a change, if it takes place, affect injuriously our commerce. Though the consumption of English manufactures per head of the population may decline, yet, owing to its increasing numbers, the aggregate imports may still go on increasing at a rapid rate.

It must also be kept in mind that there is in England a large and growing consumption of silks and other textile fabrics of foreign origin. By adding from the returns for 1876 all the enumerated imports of this kind, and allowing for the value of textiles which may be included among the unenumerated manufactures imported, a figure of not far from £20,000,000 is obtained, representing a consumption of about 12s. per head of the population. In fact, if we were to imagine a Customs line drawn round the whole British Empire, and a return obtained of the total quantity of goods of foreign growth and manufacture imported across this imaginary line, and if we were to register the comparative consumption of such goods by the different portions of the Empire, it would be found that the United Kingdom itself is the only portion of the British Empire which consumes foreign goods to any extent, India and the other Colonies being supplied almost exclusively by goods and manufactures produced within the limits of the Empire itself.

This is a fact of prime importance, especially at the present moment, when the rapid growth of our food imports, notwithstanding the arrested development of our return trade in manufactures, is beginning to excite the alarm of even the most cool-headed

observers. I must here refer to two important papers on this subject read by Mr. Stephen Bourne before the London Statistical Society in December, 1876, and before the Manchester Statistical Society in April, 1877. In these papers the question of our growing dependence upon foreign supplies of food is thoroughly investigated by one who had unusual opportunities of drawing his information from the most authentic sources. The deliberate conclusion to which Mr. Bourne has arrived is, that though perhaps as a nation we have hitherto not been obliged to live upon our capital, yet that the turning-point has probably just been reached, and that if trade should continue to run in the same course as it has done during the last few years, it will be necessary, unless we are able to open new markets for our manufactures, either to retrench our consumption of foreign goods or to encroach upon our capital. Everything tends to confirm this conclusion.

I shall, however, now attempt to show that the nature of our relations with our own Possessions and Colonies supplies the one gleam of hope in our commercial prospects, and permits us to believe that by properly utilising the resources which we have at command within the limits of our own Empire, we can overcome all the difficulties which loom ahead and threaten to arrest the career of rapid commercial and manufacturing progress which has hitherto been our lot.

The figures given by Mr. Bourne may be safely accepted as the best obtainable ones for the purpose of illustrating the relation of exports to imports, or what has been called the balance of trade between England and all countries abroad. It is possible, however, to reduce the usual figures of exports and imports to other figures which represent more nearly the actual facts. This may be done in the following way: In order to arrive at the value of that part of our import trade which is intended to supply our own home consumption, it is usual to deduct from the value of our total imports the re-exports of foreign and Colonial merchandise. One might carry the same process still further, and deduct from our imports not only the value of those foreign goods which merely touched our coast and were again re-exported, but also the value of all such foreign raw material as is sent back to foreign countries in a manufactured condition, deducting, of course, the same value from the usually adopted figure of our exports. We should then have on the one side the value of food and raw materials imported for our own consumption, and on the other the value of British labour exported, because, after all, our real exports consist only of the quantity of British labour cor-

tained in the produce and manufactures exported, the foreign raw materials having only passed through the country,—the sums which we receive for them in the price of the manufactures no more than meeting the original disbursements for their importation.

The largest allowance for foreign raw material must be made in the textile trades. The following table contains a very rough estimate of the quantity of foreign raw material re-exported in our textile manufactures for the two years 1869 and 1876 :—

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH TEXTILE TRADE FROM 1869 TO 1876.

	Cotton		Woollen and Worsted		Flax, Hemp, and Jute		Silk.		Total Textile	
	M'factures.		M'factures.		M'factures.		M'factures.		M'factures.	
	1869.	1876.	1869.	1876.	1869.	1876.	1869.	1876.	1869.	1876.
	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.	Mins.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Raw material consumed { Home produce	—	—	8.5	8.0	1.7	1.0	—	—	10.2	9.0
{ Foreign „ 1	45.4	35.8	10.5	16.0	7.8	7.5	4.1	3.5	67.8	62.3
Total cost of raw material	45.4	35.8	19.0	24.0	9.5	8.5	4.1	3.5	73.0	71.8
Total of wages, profits, and other expenses.....	42.42	57.02	30.02	34.02	10.84	13.71	5.02	5.52	83.3	110.2
Total value of textile m'factures	87.8	92.8	49.0	58.0	20.3	22.2	9.1	9.0	166.3	182.0
Exports of textile manufactures	67.1	67.7	23.2	23.0	10.0	8.9	2.6	2.9		
Add for haberdashery and millinery.....	1.1	.9	1.2	1.0	1.1	.9	1.2	1.0		
„ apparel and shops	—	—	2.4	3.0	—	—	—	—		
„ bags and cordage	—	—	—	—	1.2	1.5	—	—		
„ hats ⁶	—	—	.5	1.0	—	—	—	—		
Total exports of textiles	68.2	68.6	22.3	28.0	12.3	11.3	3.8	3.9	116.6	111.8
Left for home consumption ...	19.2	24.2	16.7	30.0	8.0	10.9	5.3	5.1	49.7	70.2
Estimated value of foreign textile raw material ⁷ re-exported										
in manufactures	39.42	30.02	12.5	11.0	5.6	4.3	1.7	1.6	59.2	46.9
Add for dyes, gums, &c. of foreign origin									3.0	2.0
Total foreign material exported in the textile manufactures									62.2	48.9
Net value of British labour exported in the textile manufactures									54.4	62.9

¹ Values calculated from the Trade Returns.

² Value taken from the *Economist* of March, 1877.

³ Calculated by estimating the annual proceeds of labour at £120 for each person employed in the woollen and worsted factories.

⁴ Calculated by estimating the annual proceeds of labour at £30 for each person employed in the trade.

⁵ Calculated by estimating the annual proceeds of labour at £120 for each person employed in the trade.

⁶ A certain proportion of straw hats included in this number.

⁷ Calculated from the total quantity of raw material consumed, according to the proportion of manufactures exported and those left for home consumption.

⁸ Calculated from data given in the above-mentioned article in the *Economist*, but originally taken from *Edison's Circulars*.

A few words are necessary to explain the process by which the figures contained in this table have been obtained. As regards the value of the raw material, the figures are, of course, mainly those supplied by the Trade Returns. The value of the home supply of wool is estimated from its probable weight taken at the same price as that of the imported wool, care being taken to deduct the value of home-grown wool exported, which in 1876 amounted to very nearly £1,000,000. The figures for home-grown flax, valued

at £1,700,000 in 1869 and at £1,000,000 in 1876, represent the considerable decrease in the cultivation of this fibre in Ireland.

As regards the total cost of wages, profits, and other expenses of manufacture, the data for the cotton trade have been taken from the already-mentioned article in the *Economist*, as 'quoted in the journal of the Statistical Society. It may be remarked that Ellison's Circular, upon which these data are founded, estimates the value of the raw cotton at a considerably lower figure than that obtainable from the Trade Returns. The latter has, however, been employed here in order to make it tally with the other data, all derived from these returns.

The annual value of the produce of each man's labour in the woollen and the worsted trade has been assessed at £120 per head—a rather higher figure than that for cotton, the proportion of the more highly paid male labour being greater in these than in the latter trade. The flax, hemp, and jute trades employ mostly female and juvenile labour at the lowest rate of wages, and make use of comparatively primitive manufacturing processes. They have, therefore, been valued at only £80 per head of the working-population engaged in them. Silk has been taken at the same figure as that adopted for the woollen trade, although in so doing it may possibly have been estimated a trifle too high.

With regard to the exports, the value of apparel, clothing, and hats has been added to the exports of woollen and worsted manufactures, that of bags and cordage to the linen and jute manufactures, whilst the value of haberdashery and millinery exported has been shared between the four groups of the cotton, woollen, linen, and silk trades.

No very high degree of exactitude can be claimed for figures obtained in such a summary manner, but I am bound to state that, as will be shown hereafter, the conclusions as to the recent course of textile trade which may be drawn from the table, agree in a remarkable manner with those obtained from other sources. For the following reasons, however, it is necessary to point out that, on the whole, the quantities of raw material exported in the manufactures are probably over-estimated.

The value of the raw material contained in the exported fabrics has been calculated on the assumption that the values given in our export returns approximate to the first cost of manufacture, and hence that the same allowance must be made for the raw material contained in them as in the manufactures valued at the price at which they pass out of the hands of the first producer. A certain portion, however, of the textile manufactures are exported

made up into apparel and dress of all kinds, in which case certainly a smaller allowance should be made. Besides, all the manufactures in their progress from the place of production to the place of shipment are weighted by certain charges, such as freights, profits of intermediary agents, &c., which enhance the price above that at the place of production, and which *pro tanto* diminish the allowance to be made for the raw material they contain. The case of coal, which is valued at the place of shipment at twice the value which it possesses at the pit's mouth, has already been mentioned. This is an extreme instance, but even for the other classes of goods the additional charges here referred to must amount to an appreciable percentage on the total value of the exports. On all these grounds the relation between the value of raw material and the value of British labour contained in the exported goods adopted in the table referred to, yields rather too low a figure for the value of British labour and profits, and estimates too highly the value of the raw material. On the same grounds it will appear that the home consumption is rather under-estimated, because the quantity exported would, if taken at cost price, have left a larger figure for the value of goods consumed at home than the one indicated in the table. But it would be so difficult to apply the corrections required, that none such have been attempted; the more so as the comparative view of the two years would not have been much affected by them, the sources of error applying equally to both.

Adopting, therefore, the figures given in the table, the total value of textile raw material used may be estimated at £71,800,000 in 1876, against £78,000,000 in 1869, the diminution in value, notwithstanding the largely increased quantity, being due to the heavy fall in the price of cotton. Of this total supply about £9,000,000 in 1876, and £10,200,000 in 1869, were of home origin, whilst £62,800,000 and £67,800,000 respectively represent the value of foreign supply in these years. But of this quantity not less than £46,900,000 in 1876, and even as much as £59,200,000 in 1869, were re-exported in the shape of manufactures, so that the actual home consumption of foreign textile raw material amounted to only £8,800,000 in 1869, and to £14,900,000 in 1876. It may be noted that in 1869 not only was the whole of the imported wool re-exported in the shape of woollen and worsted manufactures, but that these included in addition about £2,000,000 worth of our home-grown wool. This figure has been included in the value of foreign raw material re-exported, as it is balanced by an excess of imports in the other textiles.

In order to obtain the value of the total foreign raw material

exported in the textile manufactures, a certain allowance must be made for the value of foreign dyes and gums used in their preparation for the market. This value is assessed at about £8,000,000 in 1869, and only at about £2,000,000 in 1876, a decline which is explained not only by a fall in prices, but also by the increasing use of dyes prepared at home from coal tar. In this way we obtain the final figures of £62,200,000 for 1869, and of £48,900,000 in 1876 for the value of foreign raw material contained in our textile exports.

I may incidentally remark here, that the advantage of thus separating the value of the raw material from the additional value conferred on it by manufacture is, that in this manner many erroneous conclusions drawn from the consideration of the gross values only of our exports are avoided.

Thus for textiles of all kinds exported in 1869 and in 1876, we obtain the following comparative numbers :—

		Exports of Textile Manufactures.			
Total value.		Value of foreign raw material.		Value of British labour and profits.	
1869	£116,600,000	...	£62,200,000	...	£54,500,000
1876	111,800,000	...	48,900,000	...	62,900,000
Change from 1869 } to 1876		4,800,000	13,300,000	8,500,000	
		Decrease.	Decrease.	Increase.	

Judging from the gross values, our textile exports have, during this period of eight years, apparently undergone a reduction of £4,800,000, the exports which in 1869 amounted to £116,600,000 having declined in 1876 to £111,800,000. Hence one would naturally infer a stationary or even declining condition of that portion of our export trade. But by comparing the values of British labour and profits represented by these exports, we discover an actual advance of about £8,500,000, indicating a substantial progress. The increase, however, has in reality perhaps not been quite as great as that here implied, the year 1869 being characterised by an abnormally low rate of profits in our cotton trade. But even after making this allowance, there is nothing to justify the gloomy inferences which might be drawn from the decline in the gross values.

We have now to estimate the value of the foreign raw material exported in the shape of our remaining manufactures. The total value of foreign ores, metals, hides, skins, oils, and chemicals imported, may, with the addition of a small sum for the timber used in general manufactures, as distinguished from building, be estimated at about £85,000,000. This amount, with the addition of about £10,000,000 estimated as the value of the home supply of

hides, oils, and other agricultural produce used in manufactures, gives us the figure of £45,000,000 before-mentioned as the probable value of raw material worked up in manufactures other than textile.

Of the iron ore and iron imported, the whole, or its equivalent export of native produce, may be considered to be re-exported in the shape of iron manufactures. In the same way almost the whole quantity of the brimstone, pyrites, and paper material imported, may be considered as being re-exported in the shape of chemicals, paper, and books. Of the imports of tallow, india-rubber, leather, and skins, as also of various metals, such as copper, tin, and zinc, a small proportion only is re-exported in a manufactured condition, by far the greater part being worked up into goods consumed at home. The total value of the re-export of these articles is roughly estimated, in 1869, at £7,800,000, and, in 1876, at £9,100,000. By adding these figures to the value of the foreign raw textile material exported in our textile manufactures, we obtain the total value of foreign raw material contained in our exports. By deducting this latter number from the gross value of our exports, we readily obtain, as shown below, the value of the exported net proceeds of British industry, or what may be called the net value of our exports, that is, that imparted to the foreign raw material by the employment of British labour and capital :—

	1869.		1876.
Foreign raw material exported in textiles	£62,200,000	...	£48,900,000
In other manufactures	7,800,000	...	9,100,000
Total.....	£70,000,000	...	£58,000,000
Gross value of exports of manufactures, about.....	£181,000,000	...	£189,000,000
Export of net proceeds of British manufac-			
turing industry.....	£111,000,000	...	£131,000,000
Add for food, sugar, spirit, and British raw			
produce exported	9,000,000	...	12,000,000
Total exports of the net proceeds of British			
industry, or net value of exports.....	£120,000,000	...	£143,000,000

With regard to the numbers obtained in this table, I must again refer to the observations which have been made on the occasion of the textile trades, viz. that the method of calculation here adopted tends rather to over-estimate the value of raw material contained in the manufactures, and hence to under-estimate the share of British labour and profits. If the corrections there referred to could have been applied to our numbers, it is my impression that the value of the net produce of British industry, in the year 1876 for example, would have been nearer to £150,000,000 than to £143,000,000.

At any rate, it appears from these figures that the export trade for the year 1876, which surpasses that for 1869 by only £10,500,000, when measured by the gross values, is higher by £28,000,000 when measured by the actual amount of employment which it has afforded to British labour and capital, the figures for the net value of exports being £120,000,000 for 1869 and £148,000,000 for 1876. This indicates a great progress, seeing that 1876 has been usually considered as a year of extreme depression. But the truth is, that although, as compared with the years 1871 to 1878—a period of phenomenal commercial and manufacturing activity—1876 is marked by a decline, it yet exhibits an advance of nearly 20 per cent. over the concluding year of the previous period of depression; a fact which may thus well be taken to be indicative of a permanent expansion of our trade during the intervening period. As already remarked, the actual advance is, perhaps, a little less if allowance be made for the exceptional losses which were incurred in 1869 in the cotton trade; but even with that reservation the progress is a very substantial one.

In order to estimate the bearing of the Colonial and Indian trade on this question, it is likewise necessary to use for comparison not the gross but the net values, that is, those obtained as already explained above by deducting from the former the value of the foreign raw material they contain. This calculation is effected for the exports to foreign countries and to the British possessions for the years 1869 and 1876 respectively.

		1869. Mins. £	1876. Mins. £	Increase or decrease. Mins. £
Gross value of exports...	{ to foreign countries ...	141·9	135·8	6·1 decrease
	{ to British possessions ..	48·1	64·9	16·8 increase
	{ Total	190·0	200·7	10·7 increase
Foreign raw material contained in exports, calculated in proportion to gross values	{ to foreign countries ...	52·3	39·3	13·0 decrease
	{ to British possessions..	17·7	18·7	1·0 increase
	{ Total	70·0	58·0	12·0 decrease
Net value of exports.....	{ to foreign countries ...	89·6	96·5	6·9 increase
	{ to British possessions.	30·4	46·2	15·8 increase
	{ Total	120·0	142·7	22·7 increase

Thus, while a comparison of the gross values would show an apparent falling off in the foreign trade to the extent of £6,100,000 against an increase of £16,800,000 in the exports to the British possessions, a comparison of the net values proves that both trades have increased during the interval of eight years referred to. The diminution in the value of foreign raw material contained in our exports to the foreign countries having been almost £7,000,000 in excess of the decline in its gross values,

the actual exports of the net proceeds of British industry exported to those countries exhibit in reality an increase of £6,900,000, or of 7·7 per cent., instead of the apparent decline of £6,100,000 deduced from gross values. The corresponding increase amounts to £15,800,000, or to 33 per cent., in the case of the British possessions. The increase to foreign countries would have been made a little larger, and that to the British possessions a little smaller, if an allowance could be made for a certain portion of Indian trade which in 1869 has been registered with that of Egypt, whilst it is no longer so in the returns subsequent to 1874. But even with this allowance the figures quoted above establish the fact that the permanent expansion of our export trade during the period of 1869-76 has been mainly due to the increased demand for our manufactures on the part of the Colonies and of India.

With the help of the numbers which we have now obtained, it is possible to draw up a real national balance-sheet of our trade. All that is required is simply to deduct from our exported manufactures, and from our imported raw material, the value of the latter re-exported in a manufactured condition. Adopting, with this single alteration, the figures given by Mr. Bourne, the following results are obtained:—

	Net Imports.			Net Exports.	
	1869.	1876.		1869.	1876.
	Mins. £	Mins. £		Mins. £	Mins. £
Food	106	159	Exports of net proceeds of British industry...	120	143
Raw materials for home consumption	38	61			
Manufactures	34	41			
Total imports	178	261	Net value of exports...	120	143
Balance covered in other ways than by export of manufactures...				58	118

Some remarkable inferences are suggested by an examination of the import side of this balance-sheet. I shall first remark upon the close correspondence between the value of our food imports, £159,000,000, and the estimated value of the net proceeds of British labour exported, £148,000,000. This correspondence would have appeared still closer if for the latter value the corrected number had been substituted, amounting to £150,000,000. Thus we arrive at the result that our export trade, occupying a working population of 1,500,000, only barely suffices to provide for our foreign food supplies. I may point out that Mr. Bourne arrived by a perfectly different process at the same estimate of 1,500,000 of our population as employed in providing for our food imports. The rapid growth in the imports of food from £106,000,000

in 1869 to £159,000,000 in 1876, might not unreasonably excite some apprehension, especially as the imports of foreign manufactures have during the same period also increased from £34,000,000 to £41,000,000. These figures might almost be taken as implying a decay of both our agricultural and our manufacturing industry. But such impressions are at once removed by a glance at the remarkable increase in the imports of foreign raw material for home consumption; and it must be kept in mind that the quantity of that material contained in our exports is already excluded from it. In 1869 the value of imported raw material amounted to £38,000,000; in 1876 this sum had increased to £61,000,000, or more than 60 per cent., whilst the imports of foreign manufactures during the same period increased only by about 20 per cent., and the imports of food by about 50 per cent. This shows that our home market for manufactures has developed at an even more rapid rate than that observed in the foreign trade, especially if it is remembered that on account of the fall in prices even a diminished supply of foreign raw material would not have necessarily implied a corresponding diminution in the quantity of goods produced. But a growth of that supply by 60 per cent. in value, notwithstanding the important reduction in price of some of the articles, implies a very rapid growth indeed. The rate of development of our manufacturing industries and of our building trade must have indeed been surprising, if it be measured by the increase in the quantity of raw material worked up. I believe that if all the facts were really known, it might be readily proved that in spite of the present depression, and the collapse of the exceptional foreign demand of 1871—1873, the period of 1869—1876 was one in which our home trades progressed at a rate perhaps never before equalled.

It is not surprising that so marked a development of our home trade should have been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the consuming power of our population. The increase in the importation of foreign food, and even the often-quoted increase in the consumption of beer and alcoholic liquors of all kinds are evidences of such an advance. Yet the augmented consumption of these articles could not by itself be considered as an unmixed advantage, or as affording any very satisfactory index as to the improved condition of the people. But the table previously given (page 128) showing the development of our textile trades, proves that the consumption of textiles has expanded almost as rapidly as that of any of the other articles of consumption. The total value of textile goods left for the home market was estimated at £19,700,000 for

1869 and at £70,200,000 for the year 1876, thus exhibiting an increase in value of £20,500,000, or of about 41 per cent., while the increase in quantity was probably even greater. This increase is most marked in the case of the woollen and worsted manufactures, the consumption of which in 1876 was almost double that observed eight years previously, having risen from £16,700,000 in 1869 to £80,000,000 in 1876. But even this does not give the measure of the entire progress of the home demand for woollen and worsted fabrics, for these figures do not take into account the great increase in the production of mixed goods. As it is, a certain part of the estimated home consumption of cotton manufactures should have been transferred to the woollen trade on account of the considerable quantity of cotton yarn employed in the mixed fabrics. If such a transfer could be effected, it would probably appear that the consumption of cotton goods has only slightly increased since 1869, though that year itself was one in which it had been abnormally low. That woollens, and worsteds, and mixed fabrics have to a considerable extent replaced the calicoes and cotton prints formerly worn, is confirmed by common observation, though it may be added, that even at the present moment the consumption of woollen and worsted goods is not exceptionally large as compared with that of some foreign countries, notably France, in which it is probably larger than in England, notwithstanding the recent rapid increase here. But in any case the rapid rise in the demand for woollens, as compared with that for the cheaper cottons, affords an eloquent testimony to the general advance in the purchasing powers of the masses, while at the same time it helps to clear our working population from the charge that the whole of their increase in wages was spent solely in drink. However deplorable the increased consumption of drink must appear, it is only fair to point out that it is by no means greater than the general advance exhibited in the consumption of all goods whatsoever.

That such is really the case, that in spite of the present depression of trade our country has really advanced at a rapid rate, is abundantly confirmed by the collateral evidence afforded by our Revenue returns, the increased movement on our railways, and the diminution of our pauperism. These are not usually circumstances attending a period of industrial decay. At the present, as at any other time, they must be taken as implying that up to 1876 the nation was still progressing in every way. There is no question that a widespread amount of distress exists, but there is less of it than at any previous period of commercial depression, so that the

general condition of the country may still be considered as being, under the circumstances, a remarkably satisfactory one. And it may be remarked that a truer measure of the resources of a country is afforded by its condition at a time of depression than during one of the occasional spurts of feverish commercial excitement. Below are shown in a tabular form some of the more striking figures showing the advance made from 1869 to 1876, the figures given for the value of drink consumed being the figures now usually quoted in discussing the subject, and which I give for what they are worth, without in any way vouching for their accuracy. The table, on the whole, gives evidence of the most striking progress in the condition of a nation which has ever perhaps been accomplished in recent times, the only decrease shown being that of the number of paupers relieved. This diminution of pauperism, and the simultaneous rapid advance of education, afford the best proof that the nation, so far from having materially retrograded under the influence of the recent commercial depression, is to-day richer than she has ever been, not only in wealth, but also in all the moral and intellectual elements of civilisation.

TABLE SHOWING THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ENGLAND IN THE PERIOD OF EIGHT YEARS FROM 1869 TO 1876.

	1869.	1876.	
	Millions.	Millions.	Increase or decrease.
Population.....	31...	33...	6 per cent. increase
Total imports	£248	£319...	24 " "
Imports, exclusive of foreign raw material re-exported in a manufactured condition	£178	£261...	46 " "
Imports of food.....	£106	£159...	50 " "
Imports of foreign raw material for manufactures consumed at home ...	£38	£61...	60 " "
Imports of foreign manufactures	£34	£41...	20 " "
Consumption of beer and alcoholic liquors*	£119	£143...	20 " "
Consumption of textile manufactures	£50	£70·2	41 " "
Gross receipts of railways	£41	£60	61 " "
No. of children present in primary schools at inspectn. (Great Britain only)	1,640,000	2,831,000	72 per cent. increase
No. of paupers.....	1,233,000	928,000	25 " decrease

* The figures given for 1871 and 1875 respectively.

It is interesting to compare these data, showing the great improvement in the home market, with the numbers obtained in the first portion of the paper with regard to the improved demand for our produce and manufactures on the part of our own possessions. We then observed an advance of 38 per cent. in our total exports to

the British possessions, and of 40 per cent. in the exports of articles of personal use and of domestic consumption. These figures approximate in every way to the changes which have taken place at home, and thus afford an additional proof of the similarity subsisting between our home and our Colonial markets. Thus whereas during the period under discussion the foreign markets for our manufactures have either declined or else remained almost stationary, the Colonial and the home markets for our goods have both improved to a remarkable degree.

The results shown in the table under discussion are eminently satisfactory as regards the past. But the grave question arises, Can a similar rate of progress be maintained in the future, or is it even possible to avoid a retrogression?

It is agreed on all sides that the one element of danger in our commercial situation is the growing dependence upon foreign supplies of food, which, year by year, keep increasing at an alarming rate. It is not difficult to calculate approximately the normal rate of increase which must be anticipated.

Our population in the seven years from 1869 to 1876 increased by about 2,000,000, or by about 800,000 per annum. Now, Mr. Bourne, in his paper on this subject, estimates that in 1876 the imported food provided the sustenance of about 15,000,000 of our population. As its value then amounted to £159,000,000, this gives a yearly consumption of £10 of food per head of population. Hence our additional yearly increase of population, amounting to 800,000, will require every year additional supplies of food to the extent of £3,000,000. But this would imply that the standard of living of our population should undergo no further improvement. There are, however, millions of our population whose condition is not such as to enable one to say that they offer no further room for such an improvement. On the contrary, it is highly probable that the process of substitution of wheat for oats or potatoes will continue, and it is certainly desirable that an increased supply of meat should be obtained for numbers of people who are at present but very sparingly provided with that article. It is also likely that the individual consumption of such articles as tea or sugar is likely to increase in the future, as it has done in the past. It will not be an unreasonable estimate, therefore, if we calculate the annual increase of such requirements at the same figure as that necessary for providing the supplies required on account of our regular increase in population. The normal annual increase which we must expect in the demand for food, may thus be estimated at about £6,000,000. But in addition to the increased

demand for food, it is equally certain that the demand for foreign raw materials, such as timber, cotton, dyes, hides and skins, and others used in our manufactures and in our building trades, must experience a certain increase proportionate to the increase in the numbers and wealth of our population. The annual increment in the demand for articles of food and of raw material would therefore have to be estimated at considerably more than £8,000,000.

The question now arises, How is this increment to be provided for ?

It can only be provided for in one or all of the following four ways :—

1st. By a development of exports to a degree sufficient to cover the whole of the increment above estimated.

2nd. By an increase in our investments abroad, so as to obtain an increase of the annual remittances to England from that source.

3rd. By developing our own indigenous agriculture to such an extent as to provide for the whole, or at least for a considerable part of the expected annual increment.

4th. By emigration.

I proceed to make a few remarks under each of these four heads, which will show how largely the question will be influenced by the future course of our relations with our own Colonies and India.

As regards the first part, it may be inquired whether our exports can be expected to increase at such a rate as to provide the means for supplying the expected annual addition of at least £8,000,000 to our food bill.

In the eight years from 1869 to 1876, the total progress in the exports of the net proceeds of British industry has amounted to £28,000,000, representing an annual progress of about £3,000,000 per annum, that is, of only about half the rate of the normal increment required. This rate of progress was mainly due to the expansion of the Colonial and Indian markets. It is thus probable that in the future also we shall have to look mainly to them for the additional outlet required for our manufactures.

But it is clear that if the rate of progress recently observed in our exports to the British possessions is to be considerably increased, it can only be done by largely developing their own exports. India and the Colonies would take more of our manufactures, if we were to import more of their produce. Even a cursory survey of the trade returns proves that the British possessions are as yet far from taking the same rank in our import as they do

in our export trade. There is no reason why this should continue to be so. At this place, had not this paper already extended to an undue length, I would have attempted to give a short sketch of our import trade, and of the advantages and disadvantages which our own possessions exhibit in this respect, as compared with foreign countries. But I need hardly remind the members of the Royal Colonial Institute, who have taken such interest in supporting the proposal for the establishment of a museum for the Colonies and India, that in addition to the political significance which such a representation of the resources of the whole British Empire would possess, one of the principal uses to which such an institution might be put, would be to familiarise the public with the many productions of the Colonies and of India, which might with advantage replace supplies hitherto drawn from foreign countries. I shall only briefly remark that recent history has shown the capability both of the Colonies and of India for rapidly developing new branches of trade. As regards the Colonies, I need only mention the wheat, wine, and copper of Australia, and the ostrich farming at the Cape. The development of Indian trade would almost require a lecture for itself. In a note contained in the Philadelphia Exhibition reports, I have given a summary sketch of the remarkable changes which have taken place in India during the last twenty years—changes which lead one to entertain the opinion that India is now on the eve of a great expansion, both of its external and internal trade. The increased supply of tea, coffee, chinchona, tobacco, and india-rubber obtained from India, as also the startling increase of the Indian wheat trade during the last three years, are sufficient proofs that India is possessed of a power of expansion in trade similar to that possessed by more advanced communities.

As bearing upon the question of obtaining increased supplies of food and raw material from our own possessions, there is one point in particular which I would have wished to investigate; it is, the influence which the development of steam navigation must have had on the growth of the Colonial and Indian trade. I found that it was extremely difficult to obtain reliable data extending over a sufficiently long period of years. Mr. Bourne has, however, obligingly placed at my disposal all the data which he himself had collected during the preparation of his paper for the Statistical Society in December, 1876. They confirm the supposition which I previously entertained, viz. that the improvement in the means of communication has been chiefly favourable to the more distant

countries—the freights for long voyages having diminished in a greater ratio than those for short voyages. Improvement in the same direction is likely to continue, and it is sure to tell largely in favour of India and the Colonies, which are most of them situated at a greater distance from England than are the principal foreign countries trading with us. I cannot leave this subject of freights without expressing the hope that some competent statistician will take it up, and trace in detail the considerable influence which the improved means of communication have exercised on the courses of trade.

On the second head I may remark that I have already, two years ago, in my Museum pamphlet, given an estimate of the amounts of our investments abroad, an estimate which agrees very well with all the facts which have been since brought to light. I then estimated the total value of our investments abroad at about £1,000,000,000 of which £800,000,000 consisted of investments in the Colonies and in India. I also pointed out that considering the large number of foreign governments and foreign railways which are in default, the Indian and Colonial proportion of actually paying investments will probably amount to at least two-fifths of the total quantity. I likewise expressed an opinion that the entire remittances to this country from India are probably larger than those from any other country whatsoever.

The financial history of the last four years supplies the most striking testimony of the superiority which the investments made in the Colonies and India possess over those made in foreign countries. As illustrating this subject, I cannot refrain from referring to an instructive account which appeared a few days ago in one of the daily papers, describing the mode of procedure, countenanced by judicial decisions, in which American railway speculators may in the most legal manner deprive English bondholders of every fraction of their invested capital, without leaving them the smallest means of redress.

We may sum up the advantages of the investment market within our own possessions in the statement that it is characterised by the same qualities of steadiness and security which in a previous portion of the paper have been pointed out as the characteristics of the Colonial and Indian market for our manufactures. An additional inducement for directing the current of investment rather to our own dependencies than to foreign countries may be found in the circumstance that every such investment, independently of the direct money return it will bring, will likewise contribute to develop their resources and to extend their trade with us, while in the case

of a foreign country our capital may often only serve to make that country independent of our markets.

The remarks under the two remaining heads, viz. that of an increased agricultural development at home, and that of the influence of emigration, may with advantage be combined into one view. It is clear that by an increased investment of capital in agricultural improvements at home, a large proportion of the annual increment of £6,000,000 required might be supplied by this means. There is no doubt that there is ample room for a considerable improvement in the agricultural industry of these islands. Not long since, evidence was given before a Parliamentary Committee of the House of Lords on the subject of drainage, to the effect that the undrained area to which drainage might still be advantageously applied is about double of the area which has already been drained. We have also the declaration of one of our most cautious statesmen, that with a proper expenditure of capital our soil might be rendered capable of yielding almost double the quantity of food which it now affords. There are still millions of acres of waste land, and of bog, which might be reclaimed and made serviceable for cultivation, and everybody will agree that there can be no more patriotic enterprise than such works of reclamation as those now in progress in the north of Scotland, undertaken by the Duke of Sutherland. Every acre thus gained is as if our small island had grown to a corresponding extent. This question, however is intimately related to that of emigration, the two processes of reclamation of waste land in England, and of emigration to the Colonies, being exactly the converse of each other. We have labour to spare at home; the Colonies possess waste lands of practically indefinite extent. By reclaiming our own waste lands we bring as it were the land to the people; by sending out emigrants to the Colonies we bring the people to the land. Reclamation of land has been selected here for comparison, not as being the only or even the most important form of agricultural investment from which we may hope to obtain an increased home supply of food, but because it is the one which enables us most easily to compare the relative cost of the two processes. According to the last census, the agricultural and working populations of the United Kingdom amounted to about 8,000,000, which for the 45,000,000 acres of cultivated land gives an allowance of 15 acres to each working member of the agricultural population; or of, say, seven and a half acres, if permanent pasture should be excluded from the calculation. Now the cost of the improvements carried on by the Duke of Sutherland

at Lairg will have reached an outlay of nearly £40 per acre; it is hoped, however, that in the works of reclamation lately begun the cost will be kept to about £20. This is also the approximate cost per acre which has been estimated in Holland for the cost of reclaiming the land covered by the Zuyder Zee. By making use even of this lower rate, we obtain £300 as the total outlay for preparing the share of land required for each working agriculturist, if the estimate of 15 acres per head be adopted, and of £150 per head with the smaller allowance of seven and a half acres. The mean between the two sums given above, or £225 per head, would still be a very low estimate indeed, because the seven and a half or even the fifteen acres above mentioned would be usually considered rather a small allowance for the purpose. This is the sum, then, which it costs to bring the land to the people.

Now in order to ascertain the cost of the converse operation, that of bringing the people to the land, I obtained, through the kindness of the Agents-General for Queensland and New Zealand, the return of the total cost of sending out emigrants to their respective Colonies. The total expenditure in both cases, whether borne by the Government or in part by the emigrant himself, amounted to less than £20 per head. Before, however, comparing this number with the above cost per head of £225 for reclaiming land, we must keep in mind that for each head of the actually working agricultural population we must count about two heads of non-effective population, children below and old people above the working age, domestic servants, &c. Hence the £225 would in reality provide land for three heads of the total agricultural population. By applying to emigrants the same proportion of effective to non-effective population, we must count three passage monies, that is, £60. Calculated per head the comparative cost of the two processes would thus amount to £75 in the case of reclamation of land in our own country, and to £20 in the case of emigration, thus showing in a striking way the economical advantage of the latter over the former course. The difference between £20 and £75 would amply provide for clearing the land in the Colony, and yet leave a large balance in favour of emigration, especially if it is kept in mind that by making an allowance for the small proportion of the non-effective population amongst the emigrants, the calculation would have appeared still more to the advantage of emigration. There is, however, one circumstance which tells to a certain extent in favour of the other alternative. It is, that reclamation of land is an enterprise which can be undertaken by an individual capitalist, who may expect to

reap the profit on his outlay; whereas frequent experience has shown the great difficulty which a capitalist has in retaining a hold upon any emigrants he may have taken out to a Colony. Hence all assisted emigration—that is, one where the emigrants do not pay their own expenses—may be more suitably undertaken by Governments or other corporate bodies satisfied with the indirect returns which an emigrant will bring; whilst the reclamation of waste lands at home is a more suitable enterprise for an individual capitalist. In any case, there is an ample supply both of labour and of capital for the carrying on of both forms of investment, because emigration, after all, is only an investment of labour. Both processes will equally contribute to a satisfactory solution of the great problem of our national existence—How to provide for the growing pressure of our population upon the soil.

Three, then, out of the four ways open to us for overcoming the dangers of an adverse balance of trade, viz. increase of our exports, increase of our investments abroad, and emigration, all depend mainly upon the proper utilisation of the resources of our own possessions.

The preceding investigation into the nature of our trade with the British possessions has thus led to the conclusion, that not only has the trade increased during recent years at a more rapid rate than that with foreign countries, but that it is mainly the possession of our Colonial Empire which may enable England to face successfully the grave economic problems looming ahead in the future, if we only make use of all the resources placed within our reach.

A wonderful thing this, the Colonial Empire of England! Go back one hundred years, and what do we find?

With the secession of the twelve American provinces, and the two and a half millions of colonists which they contained, it then seemed as if the Colonial power of England had been for ever broken. The only English Colonies of importance were the three islands of Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Newfoundland. What was left of English possessions on the continent of America was poor and thinly inhabited—Nova Scotia and Canada—the insignificant province of Canada, as it was then called, with about 100,000 inhabitants, mostly French. The Cape, Ceylon, and Guiana still belonged to the Dutch. The very name of Australia does not occur in Adam Smith's review of the English Colonies, as contained in his great work published just about that time. It is only 100 years since Captain Cook sailed on his third ill-fated voyage of discovery, and it was not till many years afterwards that the first convicts were shipped for New South Wales. The whole population of the Colo-

nies, including slaves and aborigines, can have at most amounted to 500,000, of which probably not much more than 50,000 were Englishmen.

In India, at least, although the Mahrattas were still the masters of the greater part of the country, and although Hyder Ali was then preparing, with a fair chance of success, his final effort for the conquest of Madras, the foundation of the English power had already been firmly laid by Clive, and was about to be finally consolidated by Warren Hastings. But the territorial possessions of the East India Company were as yet restricted to Bengal, then recently devastated by a frightful famine, and to a few small districts on the coast; and it was only in 1778 that the famous march of Colonel Goddard across the whole peninsula, from Bengal to Bombay, first foreshadowed the possibility of the English appearing one day as the power paramount over the whole continent of India.

Thus a hundred years ago the Colonial Empire hardly existed. To-day it has already become the element on which the future greatness of England mainly depends, and at no distant date we may hope to see both the Mother Country and the Colonies merged into one great federated Empire.

DISCUSSION.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: Perhaps I may break the ice by making a few remarks on what Dr. Forbes Watson has said about the food produce of the country. Now, as a farmer myself, and being deeply interested in agriculture, I must say that there is very slight prospect of any increase in the product of corn, especially wheat, in England. I am certain that at present it is merely grown for farming purposes, not as a source of profit. The importation of wheat from foreign countries is so large, that almost invariably the price of wheat obtained in the markets is very little more than the price for cultivation, and very frequently does not equal the cost to the farmer of growing the wheat. Therefore the wheat grown in England now, and I think probably in the future, will be merely what the farmer requires for his process of cultivation, the rotation of crops, the production of straw, and so forth. With regard to the reclamation of waste land referred to, I must say I think as little is to be expected from that. Now, the Duke of Sutherland is a great friend of mine, therefore I do not envy him the good fortune which enables him to lay out £40 an acre on the reclamation of waste land; but I am sure that there are few people except the Duke of Sutherland who could afford to do so. It is not

possible that any adequate return can be expected from such an outlay. If it had been probable that a profitable return could have been obtained, I should have thought that those lands would have been in some degree cultivated before now. But you must remember that not only is the soil ungrateful, but where there are these waste lands the soil itself is undesirable for agricultural purposes; and I think it is not possible to take into consideration the reclamation of waste lands in England for any increase in the growth of cereals. I think that for an increase of the food of England we can only look to the breeding of stock. It certainly has been stated of late that the amount of stock bred in the country is less than it has been. There has been a reduction in that amount; but I think it is quite possible that that reduction was caused in a great measure by the alarms about cattle disease. I am in hopes that the severe measure introduced by the Government, if it is approved by Parliament—and when I talk of it as a severe measure, you must remember that it is not merely severe against the importers of meat, but is very severe indeed towards the farmers and the growers of meat in England—that the powers taken by that Bill are very despotic on the part of the Privy Council, and will cause, wherever it is necessary to put them in force, very great inconvenience to all agriculturists in the districts in which they are exercised. But the farmers are willing, I believe, to submit to those inconveniences, in the expectation that they may eradicate disease; and if it does so, and gives confidence to the breeders of stock, I think we may look to an increased production of food in England from that source,—of course, without interfering with the importation of meat from abroad. I thought I might open the discussion by referring to this subject.

Mr. MACPHE: We have all felt, I am sure, extremely interested in this paper, which is one of the most important that the Institute has brought before the people of this country—of the Empire. With regard to free trade, I for one share largely the opinion that for the last fifty or sixty years we have gone on a wrong tack. We had an opportunity of developing greatly our manufactures and commerce, or the choice of developing our agricultural resources (by letting these overflow into the Colonies), and the commerce connected with these latter. Our statesmen chose almost exclusively the former, and I think we made a mistake. The former, viz. our commerce, in connection with manufacturing for Continental and foreign countries, is liable to be affected by a number of “inevitable accidents.” There are the very troublesome pretensions, and, perhaps, erroneous principles of quasi-political economy, on the

part of combining operatives. Now if we had elected to cultivate and make productive our agricultural territories, we might or would have been independent of that. The self-regard and heresies of the operatives would be comparatively harmless. Secondly, we have "patriotic" tariffs in foreign countries which interfere much with the export of our goods. These countries cultivate manufactures at home, and diminish of course the opportunity we have of supplying their wants. They also become our rivals. By employing growing population to land cultivation we should become independent of that too. We should also become independent of the evils trade suffers from its liability to be interfered with by wars. Other inconveniences might be brought forward to show how much more secure, advantageous, and therefore desirable, this Colonial agricultural employment is. Besides, when a person remains within the Empire, although in the Colonies, he is a contributor to the nation's prosperity directly. He is a large consumer, and in that character contributes consumptive commerce to the extent, as we have just heard, of at least £7 a head; and we confidently hope he would soon be a consumer of much more. Whether he is or not is a matter of comparative indifference, because, if not, he is a consumer of goods made in the Colony where he is settled. He is there still a British subject, and it is British subjects there who yet are enriched by his expenditure. My chief object in rising was to bring forward an element which the paper does not contain, an element very seldom tabulated in such papers, that is, the value of human beings which we export, or who export themselves rather. We have three kinds of exports: 1st, the export of the precious metals, by which there is no colourable profit; 2nd, the export of goods and manufactures; 3rd, the export of the persons who made the manufactures, and who are home consumers, and who in both capacities contribute to the national weal and wealth. We shrink from estimating their value. A free man is worth three times what a slave is. We have been giving in this form a free present of 20 to 80 millions sterling to the United States annually. We have sent away without price men who might have remained within the Empire, in our Colonies, and not been lost, as the great mass of our emigrants are, to the British Empire. Suppose, although what is so clear may not be illustrated by the comparison, the case, not of a man, but an animal. There is a dairy. The owner might sell the cows, and here is an end of it; or else the dairy might be continued, and every day that dairy is still bringing in a revenue to the family. One way and another it is giving employment, as well as in many ways contributing

advantages to the district. Just the same is it as to a working man. You may send him away out of the Empire, and mind ! not as when the cows were parted with, to get money from him—he is, as a free man, his own proprietor ; not a slave, not vendible. To part with him is unqualified loss of capital and productive power ; these he takes off with him. It is statesmanly to keep him within the Empire, producing wealth every day and thus benefiting the Empire, making it more compact and more able to defy other nations in case of need. He would be contributing muscle for our battles, and giving independence of foreigners to our trade, as well as steadiness and progressiveness. Our friends in the Colonies should, however, make better provision for enabling such men. such wealth, to remain within the Empire productive. The lands are not sufficiently available.

Mr. BRITAIN, of the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield, said : My lord, I am not a member of this Institute ; I am here simply upon an invitation which was kindly given to me. I received the invitation this morning, and I attended this meeting with very great pleasure, because the subject you are discussing here this evening is one which I have examined into very minutely during the last two or three months. There are one or two facts which I remember about which I have no statistics in my hands, excepting a few notes which I have taken since entering the room, and I shall ask you to be indulgent if I read those few figures. I examined the returns of the years 1869 and 1876, with regard to the exports to the Colonies and to foreign countries of manufactured articles and raw materials. I also took the year 1867, and divided the subject into several groups, so as to be able to ascertain if possible what was the effect of competition upon us in different places in the world. For that purpose I chose Great Britain and France, and examined their exports in finished goods to three groups of three countries each, choosing first the neighbours of France, namely Belgium, Italy, and Spain, where France would have a considerable advantage over Great Britain on account of the geographical situation and propinquity, and owing also to similarity of race and language and an identical system of weights and measures, moneys, and so forth, and in every other way where she had the advantage over us. I took for comparison manufactured articles of general use, viz. linen, woollen, iron, and cotton manufactures, glass and porcelain. I found that of these six commodities France exports 25 per cent. more than Great Britain to the three countries of the first group. Then, again, taking other countries where our great mercantile marine would give us greater advantages, countries which are

accessible to both of us entirely by sea—such as Norway, Sweden, and Holland, Cuba and Porto Rico—it was discovered that we exported of these six articles ten times more than France. When we examine the Colonies, taking British India, North America, and Australia, then the difference is prodigious. Whereas France exported of these six articles to the three Colonies referred to goods to the amount of £80,000, Great Britain exported about £26,000,000 worth. This will give your Grace evidence of the advantage we derive from our Colonies. If France can get so large a share of the commerce with neighbouring countries, I think it is to our Colonies that we should look for the development of the trade of this country, upon which the labouring population must depend for their food supply, because if the money which we pay for the food of this country be discredited, and that money is really the labour of our artisans, and we no longer find that market in Europe, therefore we should have markets elsewhere, and these markets are our Colonies. Many members of this Institute have observed that by the foreign tariffs a very high protective duty has been imposed, and in many countries in the world these tariffs have had the effect of destroying our commerce. If we find that France can export in competition with England in ever so small a quantity a number of articles, we find in that the proof that France can supply her own population with the same articles. I have looked through the exports of all manufacturing nations of the world, and I find that, with the exception of France, from 1872 to 1876, almost every country in Europe, including the United States, exported a larger value in the latter than in the former year. In the case of France, the exports in 1872 were about 150 millions sterling; in 1876 they were 148 millions, but the deficiency was made out by the loss they sustained in the silk manufacture by the silk-worm disease. The exports of manufactures of the countries referred to had increased largely. The exports of the United States last year rose to an amount that they have not been known to reach before. In 1877 the exports from the United States were larger than ever before; the difference between 1877 and 1876 was 64 millions of dollars, and while we see these countries increasing their exports, till a very recent time, on the other hand, our exports were falling off very much. Take the year 1867 for example: the exports of France in that year were 118 millions, while the exports of Great Britain to all foreign countries, excluding the Colonies, was 181 millions. The exports of France have risen from 118 or 114 millions in 1867 to 148 millions in 1876, while our own exports to foreign countries, excluding the Colonies, had risen in the same

time from 181 to 185 millions. This proves that our own trade with foreign countries is in a very perilous position indeed, and it is to the Colonies that we must look for extrication from the dilemma into which we may naturally be thrown. If you look at the aggregate of exports from Great Britain you will be misled; you must examine the value of the trade represented by the exports. It is one thing to export manufactured articles on which a large amount of hand labour is needed, and another thing to export raw material, and from the year 1869 the exports of pig-iron, oil seed, and a few other articles on which you may say there is no labour, comes to a certain amount—I forget what. In 1876 they had not risen to the Colonies, but they had more than doubled to foreign countries, and although there is such a falling-off in the aggregate exports to foreign countries, it is more serious than at first sight might be imagined. I will not prolong what I have to say now; I only hope that everything will be done to promote trade with the Colonies, and to encourage an interchange of merchandise between us, because the trade we do with them is of infinitely more value. Every ten millions we do with the Colonies is of far greater value than the same amount done with foreign countries, because, if any members have read the report of the evidence given before the Council Supérieur of France, they will find that the whole labour of France in making a treaty of commerce is to make the duty as low as they possibly can consistent with the certainty that they will exclude British goods. The manufacturers gave evidence before the Court, and it will be very effective for the purpose of procuring such a result. But trade with the Colonies is the natural interchange of merchandise between nations requiring each other's assistance. We require the wools of Australia, and so forth, and it is a great advantage to receive them. They require the manufactured articles of this country, and they receive them to a very great extent indeed, and it is a mutual advantage. There are some not very heavy protective duties in the Colonies, small, but still existing. But we see what would be the result if the whole world were to adopt the principles of free-trade. We see the approach to it there. We see those countries which adopt the free-trade principle rapidly increasing their commerce, and on each side there is a great advantage.

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE: Although coming to the meeting without the slightest expectation of taking any part in its proceedings other than that of listener, I feel that I should ill appreciate the compliment paid me in the adoption of so many of my figures by the author of the paper—which I have heard with so much pleasure—

if I did not respond to the call made upon me to address a few observations. It was impossible to grasp the whole scope of the paper during a simple hearing, although we may follow its outline, and admire the skill with which Dr. Forbes Watson has put together the facts which establish the theory he has laid down. For this we owe him a debt of gratitude, particularly at this time, when we are in the midst of a crisis, the nature of which very few of our political economists or legislators seem to estimate aright. I am fully aware that the views I hold on this point are deemed pessimist; but the facts in regard to the balance of trade seem to be of the most startling character. Supposing that in the year 1872 we had paid in money the value of each parcel of goods we imported, at the time of its arrival, and received payment down for all the articles we sent away, at their current market price at the moment of the ship clearing, we should have had, as my calculations go to show, to receive four millions of money to balance the accounts of that year; whilst for 1876 the balance would have been 75 millions the other way. Last year that 75 would have become 100 millions; and, so far as can be seen from the few weeks of the present year yet elapsed, the balance promises to be still more against us—there is no step towards the revival of our exports or a diminution in our imports. It is said that this arises from a curtailment of our investments abroad because they are not found to be profitable, and an increase in our invested wealth at home. An able statistician has asserted that for the last ten years at least we have been increasing our accumulations at home at the rate of something like £200,000,000 a year; but that, I say, does not meet our difficulty. It is of little use to make railways and erect buildings and machinery which may increase production, or to accumulate wealth at home when we need it in another form—having to provide more than £150,000,000 a year to pay for the food which we import from abroad—unless it can be shown that our income accruing beyond the bounds of our own shores is increasing to a like extent. So long as we go on adding to these millions of balance, we are progressing from bad to worse. There have been two or three modes pointed out for the rectification of this condition of affairs; but the one on which the greatest reliance is to be placed is to increase the manufactures which we may exchange for the food we require from abroad; for, the fact is, that the increase in our imports comes in the shape of food which we consume. It passes away and ceases to have any existence—excepting as we convert it into the sinew, and the muscle, and the brains, which produce something to give in exchange for it. It seems that foreign countries are ceasing, in

a measure, to take our goods. As coal and iron are discovered in other portions of the world, and as manufacturing power and engineering skill are developed amongst other nations, so are they producing for themselves, and with the aid of protective tariffs they are forcing on manufactures in their own countries to the exclusion of our own. But in our Colonies we have no such evil to meet. We may have some protection to compete with; but I think we may believe that all our Colonies will soon see the advantage of free-trade, and will allow us unrestricted import for our goods. We have this further fact, that they are larger producers of food than we, and consequently exchange goes on directly, and if we take more of their food they will be the better customers for our manufacturers. Again, we have this security, that they are under British laws, and the whole money invested with them is not beyond the reach of our courts of justice. Not so with regard to foreign nations. We have seen how our millions have been squandered in Turkey, for which there is no return. We see how much has been invested in America, and the measures lately taken which will prevent us getting it back in full. But we have no such fear from our Colonies; because if we place it there it is invested amongst our own countrymen, and the natural tendency of those who seek their fortunes in the Colonies is to spend their acquired wealth at home. Thus the accumulation of the capital abroad, whether found by British capitalists or by the colonists themselves, ultimately finds its way back to this country. It adds to the wealth of our population, and increases the desirability of our land as a place for residence. I think it would be resting upon a broken reed to suppose that we can sufficiently extend the production of our food at home. I feel that in countries where it is of more spontaneous growth than it is in England, it can be raised so much more cheaply, that it would pay better to bring it from abroad, and to exchange our manufactures for it, than to increase the products of our country at home. With regard to the matter of meat: that is also an important question, as it affects the happiness and comfort of our population. But it must be borne in mind that every life which is supported upon meat requires about eight times the amount of land to raise the meat that it does for corn. I think you will find that eight acres employed in growing meat will only produce flesh-forming products equivalent to one acre of wheat; and, accordingly as you put our corn-fields out of cultivation, and increase the pasture land, so you diminish the number of the population which we can sustain on home products. Therefore, whichever way we look at it, it appears to me that the Colonies are the sheet-

anchor of our hope. It is to them we owe the greatness of our country. It was the element of colonisation at first which developed our trade and furnished homes for the enterprising of our population who sought to better themselves by changing their residence; and I believe that the time is coming when history will repeat itself, and we must work back to what was the foundation of our former growth—when we must extend our Colonial cultivation, and, by increasing our connections there, enhance the greatness of our land as a manufacturing and commercial nation. There are higher views than these to be taken in the matter. I was glad to hear Mr. Macfie allude to the value of “human exports.” There are plenty in our own country from which to export. We find that here human life is sacrificed to a great extent by overcrowding the population, whereas that life transported to the Colonies would have free growth. Some figures I looked into last year on the subject of population led to the conclusion that, so far from an increasing population being a source of loss, it is indeed the main constituent of our gain. We find, according to the statements of our produce of food in this country, that it only takes the labour of one man to support eight, whereas, on an average, there are but about three to be supported by each worker. It is this surplus labour which has enabled us to extend our production; we have employed that labour in building houses, &c. and so have absorbed it; but, if that be the case, the more we increase and multiply under proper regulations and the proper disposition of our forces, the more will that national strength increase and extend, for which we may find an outlet in our Colonies. We have proof that our Colonies furnish the best consumers for our manufactures; and, although we may lose by sending to them some of the best of our hands, the wisest and the strongest, and possibly the most moral, of our population, yet these become supporters of those who remain at home. It is an undoubted fact that our navvies who have gone abroad to make railways in Japan and other places have supported their families at home. Large numbers of hands are often transported to a distant spot, but the proceeds of their labour come back in a large proportion to relieve the helpless of our home population. As a Christian country and foremost in civilisation, we have a high duty to perform to the rest of the world. I was much struck two years ago in listening to a paper from Mr. Forster at Edinburgh, in which he said that the colonisable parts of the world were situated in climates best suited for the Anglo-Saxon race to inhabit, and hence he inferred, with the greatest justice, that it has been, and is, the mission of the Anglo-Saxon race to occupy those portions of the globe. I

this reason especially, because it has been proved by demonstration, and particularly by a remarkable article in the *Daily News* of this morning, reviewing last year's statistics of emigration, that there is little emigration from this country when trade is bad, but that it mainly goes on during times of prosperity. To use the phrase of the writer, it is proved that the emigrant is not *driven* out of the country, but is *drawn* away out of the country, and that the bulk of the good emigration takes place in times of prosperity, when the people who wish to progress in the world and make provision for themselves and their families have the means of going. In addition to this, there is, of course, the emigration which is promoted by the Colonies themselves, in the shape of free passages. That brings me to the question of how we are to bridge over this threatened difficulty of a decrease in the emigration movement. Of course there are only two ways in which, what Dr. Forbes Watson has called, "investments" can be in point of fact carried out: it must be either by governments or by private individuals—in the case of the former, either by the Imperial Government or by the Colonial Government. Now, with regard to private investments, I hope I shall be excused for what I am going to say. Speaking as a New Zealand colonist of 1850, the date of the Canterbury Association—I did not, however, go out with the Canterbury settlers, but to Auckland, in the Northern Island—still, being much mixed up with that movement, I take leave to say that amongst the names that figured in the brilliant list of members of that association there was no name more respected, and no one to whom men looked with more confidence, because known to join heartily with the view of advancing colonisation and the welfare of the colonists, than Viscount Mandeville of that date. (Hear, hear.) Ever since then your Grace has been most staunch in the interest you have taken in the Colonies, and you can speak from your own experience, as we are all happy to believe, as to the benefit of Colonial investments.

The PRESIDENT: Hear, hear.

Mr. ABRAHAM: Well, I will take the liberty of saying that if the aristocracy of this country would only follow your Grace's example in reference to investments in the Colonies, they would do exceedingly well for themselves, and at the same time benefit other people. We are indebted to your Grace, I believe, for the announcement made this evening that his Grace the Duke of Sutherland has joined this Institute. Now, if in addition to the many other benefits you have conferred upon the Colonies, your Grace would only induce the Duke of Sutherland, instead of spending and per-

haps wasting his money at home in reclaiming waste lands, to take to buying estates out in the Colonies and improving them, he would find that in the result he would have more in his pocket by it, and would greatly benefit his country. (Hear, hear.) I will now say a few words as to investments on the part of Governments. I am afraid that we have little to hope from the Imperial Government in the shape of affording means to send people out to the Colonies. They would have to be educated to a much greater extent than I think is likely to be effected during the lifetime of anybody here present, so far at least as we can reasonably expect from their present views of the matter. Therefore I think that we must put that out of the question. Then it comes to this: the work has to be done almost entirely by Colonial Governments. Here, again, your Grace, as a New Zealander, I am entitled to say something. The Colony of New Zealand has been setting a very good example. (Hear, hear.) For six years the little Colony of New Zealand, not having more than 880,000 people, scarcely one-half of whom were adult bread-winners, spent more than £185,000 per annum in promoting immigration. Now, that money had to be borrowed, and borrowed from capitalists in this country; and what was the return that New Zealand got from these same capitalists for the exertions she so made? Why she had unfortunately a war debt, for which she was not to blame, to the extent of three or four millions sterling, and other debts which she had consolidated, amounting to another three or four millions sterling; and as soon as she began to borrow money here at five per cent., to be expended in reproductive works and for promoting immigration, the bondholders here immediately raised up their hands and said, "You are going a great deal too fast, and have no right to borrow any more money." How was it possible in that state of things for local governments to raise funds to promote immigration in order to carry out this great work which you all agree is so essential? Why, I had the pleasure, and at the same time the pain, of attending a meeting of the Statistical Society to hear a lecture from Mr. Archibald Hamilton, in which he was expected to prove that New Zealand was running too far into debt. I dare say many of you have been to the Statistical Society. There they deal very bravely and seriously with important masses of figures with the utmost solicitude for fractions and decimals, and you are expected to have every kind of table of percentages and ratios at your fingers' end, and be able to follow all they say in a manner much more difficult and abstruse than anything contained in the paper read to-night. What was the result of that paper? Why, that Mr.

Hamilton, although he set to work to prove that New Zealand was going too fast, nevertheless came to the conclusion that she was not going half fast enough ; that her resources were so great that she might have borrowed half as much money again. He qualified it, however, by saying this, that she had put too many bonds into the market at one time or in too rapid succession, and that her difficulty was this, that those bonds could not be absorbed sufficiently quickly, on account of the ignorance of the people of this country of the resources of New Zealand. Under these circumstances, what are the different Colonies to do ? We submit readily to taxation because we know that, although every individual sent out costs £22 10s.—I believe that is the cost if you include Government official expenditure—yet he is worth, as an able-bodied man, and as a machine to work and increase the resources of the Colony, in addition to consuming the exports from his country, something like £186 8s. 9½d. (A laugh.) There is another matter to which I should like to allude. I thought, as I came here to-night, that there would not be much discussion on this paper, because its object appeared to be to contrast favourably the Colonial trade with the foreign trade, and to make out, as the writer says, that we colonists are a very wonderful people, and the Colonies very wonderful places too. Well, I thought that in a meeting of colonists like this nobody would be likely to dispute that point, for I think we are all agreed that we are a very wonderful people ; and further, that we have long been convinced that, as regards the future of this Empire, if Great Britain does not exert herself to support and maintain the progress the Colonies have already made, there will be little hope for her in the future. I thought perhaps the discussion to-night might turn upon the relative contributions of the different Colonies towards the wonderful results that have been already so achieved, and that somebody would, perhaps, be making out that Victoria or New South Wales was vastly superior to any other of the Colonies ; and I put into my pocket a paper which I thought would truly illustrate the relative merits of these different Colonies, and I shall be glad to hear from any Victorian or New South Welshman here present whether he can dispute these figures. There has been a table compiled showing the average value of the exports of five articles, viz. gold, agricultural produce, timber, and flax, during five years from 1867 to 1872, and the rate per head of the population from the three principal Colonies, viz. Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand. Now, of these the contribution of New South Wales amounted to about £7 2s. per head for every man, woman, and child of the

population; of Victoria rather better, £18 4s. 11d.; and New Zealand better still, namely, £16 16s. 8d. (Cheers.) I think, therefore, I may claim, subject to what any gentleman may say to the contrary, that New Zealand stands uncommonly well as far as developing this wonderful Empire goes. Then we must recollect not merely what a small population New Zealand has, but that she is unlike the other Colonies in this, that she has no vast estate conferred upon her by the British Government without anybody to interfere with its free settlement, but that she has to buy her land from the natives, and that part of her loans has been applied in the past, and will be applied in the future, for that purpose. Bearing this in mind, I think you will say that it is exceedingly wonderful that the figures come out in the way I have stated. The remark I am about to make ought perhaps to have been made the other night in the presence of Mr. Forster, the Agent-General for New South Wales; but I did not then catch the figures accurately, and I waited for others to speak until it was too late. I say now, compare the exertions of New South Wales and New Zealand in the matter of promoting immigration. The facts of the paper then read by Sir Daniel Cooper showed that New South Wales received, from the sale of public lands, more than two millions net during the year 1876; and what amount does your Grace suppose that Colony spent in immigration? Why, New South Wales, the most prosperous Colony, as it is said, in the Pacific Ocean, spent for immigration purposes the miserable sum of £50,000 out of two millions received from sales of land, which lands were conferred upon her for the express purpose of spending a large proportion in promoting immigration and developing her internal resources. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. J. CASEY, Executive Commissioner from Victoria to the Paris Exhibition, said: I do not propose to accept the challenge which the last speaker has thrown down to persons here from Australia. I do not want to dispute his figures, for I was not prepared to hear them, nor have I furnished myself with facts to explain them; but I take this opportunity of expressing the opinion of a colonist who has just arrived from the Antipodes, that—seeing so large and distinguished an assembly, representing not only existing colonists, but many who have been colonists, and a great many like the eloquent member of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, who represent manufacturers trading with the Colonies—I feel exceedingly glad to find so deep an interest taken by the people of this country in Colonial matters, because it seems to me it is starting a new era—it is England being loyal to her Colonies! (Hear, hear.)

Your Grace was good enough to say that when the war-note was sounded, that from north-east to south-west the Colonies of Great Britain were prepared to sharpen their swords to meet the common enemy. There are no parts of the British dominions which are so loyal as the Colonies of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) And all that the colonists ask is, that you will consider the arduous work they are engaged in—trying to convert a desert into a home for the teeming populations of the mother-country—to produce wealth where nothing existed before—to build cities where only a forest previously existed ; all we ask is that you will look on our efforts, and give us that assistance which an old and settled society can give to a new one. The last speaker has pointed out the advantage to be given by investing in our funds. We have shown that our security is good, and that we pay our interest regularly ; and as long as we continue to be Englishmen and have English instincts, you need not fear but that the capital will be repaid. You are obliged to keep up a navy in every sea to protect your merchant service, and keep consuls in every town to remedy any difficulties which your mercantile seamen may get into. But not so with your Colonies ; you want no war-ships, you have all the trade that flows into the ports of England, and we are only too glad at having trade with you. I thank you for the opportunity afforded me of expressing my great satisfaction—my great admiration—of the valuable paper which has been read this evening, and for the eloquent speech which I have heard from the member of the Chamber of Commerce of Sheffield. (Applause.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : As I have already occupied a great deal of your time in reading Dr. Watson's paper, I will not detain you long in the remarks I wish to make upon it. I intended to speak a few words on the paper before I was unexpectedly called upon to read it. I agree with one of the speakers that in a comprehensive paper of this kind it is impossible at once to grasp all the magnitude of the wide range of the elaborate figures that have been placed before us. We can, however, easily see at a glance the immense value of the Colonial trade compared with the foreign trade of this country. We have had another remarkable illustration presented to us this evening, familiar as the fact is to many of us who have studied the subject, of how the trade always follows the flag. Dr. Watson has placed before us as forcibly as anything I have ever read how invariably this is the case, and how, as long as countries are under one flag, the commerce connected with the different parts of those countries increases far more rapidly than any other trade with foreign countries ever does. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Watson has alluded to a question in which he and I have been very closely associated, and have worked very hard together to endeavour to bring about. I allude to the establishment of a Museum for the Colonies and India. I hope and trust, from the very encouraging expressions of support which we have had from all parts of the Colonial Empire, that that great work is only deferred for a time, and that some day it will be accomplished in the way we desire to see it carried out. I only trust—and I know that Dr. Forbes Watson feels in the same way himself—that a point which has arisen in the course of the discussion on this important matter will not be allowed to overcloud it, viz. the question of site. All we desire is that, wherever it is placed, if it is to be located in this great metropolis, as I hope it may before many years are over, the best and most suitable position will be chosen that can be found for such a work. We do not wish to pin ourselves absolutely to, although we have suggested, one particular spot; yet, if another can be found which will effect all the necessary requirements, by all means let it be there. But I for one would say—as I know Dr. Forbes Watson would also if he was here—that I hope we may live to see the day when such a great and glorious institution as an Imperial Museum for the Colonies and India will be founded in London. With regard to the concluding words of this excellent paper, no one feels more strongly than I do the wish that they may be realised, and that we may one of these days see the way to have the bonds of the Empire made still closer as the distant parts of it grow, as they are rapidly growing, if possible by a complete Federal union. My own opinions are so strong, and are so well known on this subject, that it is not necessary for me to allude to them further at this moment than to say I hope the day may arrive when every part of the Empire may be as fairly and completely represented, England being recognised as the centre, as any part of the British islands are at this moment by a federated Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I do not know that I have any further remarks to make on this admirable and most interesting paper. I think we are all greatly indebted to Dr. Forbes Watson for having prepared it, and for his having given us so much food for reflection when we come to read it again carefully and attentively after the meeting is over. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT, in conclusion: I merely wish now that you should propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Forbes Watson, with our regret that his ill-health prevented him attending here to read his able paper himself. As Mr. Young has observed, it is a most able and well-composed paper, and is one that elicited some able and

interesting speeches. I may be allowed to express my gratitude to Mr. Abraham for the flattering terms he used to myself; and perhaps Mr. Brittain will not think I am impertinent when I express my admiration for his masterly display of figures in his speech—it was astonishing. I propose that the Honorary Secretary should convey our thanks to Dr. Forbes Watson for his paper, and express our regret that his health prevented him reading it.

The vote was passed unanimously.

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD: I think we ought not to allow the meeting to dissolve without giving its thanks to Mr. Young for the admirable manner in which he read the paper. I am quite sure that Dr. Forbes Watson could scarcely have done more justice to his paper than has Mr. Young. (Hear, hear.)

The vote was heartily recorded.

Mr. YOUNG: I will with great pleasure give your vote of thanks to Dr. Watson, and our regrets that he is unavoidably absent this evening.

FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute of the Session was held on Tuesday, March 19th, 1877, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street. His Grace the **DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.**, President, in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following: Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.; Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Sir James Fergusson, Bart., K.C.M.G. (late Governor of New Zealand); Sir Henry Peek, Bart., M.P.; Lady Vogel and Miss Vogel, Hon. J. J. Casey (Commissioner for Victoria to the Paris Exhibition), Viscount Duprat (Consul-General for Portugal), Major R. H. Vetch, R.E.; Col. Thompson (New Zealand), Capt. C. C. Lees, C.M.C. (Lieut.-Governor of the Gold Coast Colony), Capt. G. H. Reinecker, Captain Tossyill, Captain Scott and Mrs. Scott, Captain Levan Lombard, Colonel Alcock, Hon. Major Mitchell, R.M. (Colonial Secretary of Natal), Dr. Piddock, Hon. W. Brandford Griffith (Auditor-General, Barbadoes), Messrs. Alfred E. Hardy, M.P.; J. Boothby (Commissioner for South Australia to the Paris Exhibition), B. H. Reinecker (Auditor-General, Gold Coast Colony), W. M. Anderson, A. Gavin Anderson, Jacob Montefiore, G. Molineux, J. B. Montefiore, James A. Youl, C.M.G.; Henry Creswick (Melbourne), Andrew Maris, H. E. Montgomerie, Thomas Tanner (New Zealand), Colin Rogers (New Zealand), T. Risely Griffith (Treasurer of the Gold Coast Colony), James Farmer (New Zealand), John A'Deane (New Zealand), S. W. Silver, T. W. Maude (New Zealand), H. A. Silver, Edward Harris, W. G. Lardner (West Indies), R. A. Macfie, Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. (Canada), Allan C. McCalman (British Guiana), George Duddell, F. A. Du Croz, F. G. Dalgety, W. S. Wetherell, G. T. Bean (South Australia), Thomas F. Quin (West Africa), Thomas R. Downes, J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria) and Mrs. Wood, Charles J. Nairn (New Zealand), T. Wright, J. D. Thomson (Cape Colony), William Carr Young, Henry J. Jourdain, H. W. Freeland, John McConnell (British Guiana), T. B. Larkworthy, Mr. and Mrs. W. Westgarth (Victoria), Messrs. A. H. Knight (Victoria), H. Wakefield, F. P. Labilliere, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Matthews (West Indies), Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Tooth, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fauntleroy (Jamaica), Mr. and Mrs. Walter Kennaway (New Zealand), Messrs. M. N. Robinson, H. Tillock, A. Black, G. Theon, Miss Isaacs, Mr. G. R. Lee. Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Messrs. J. Hamilton Ward, Walter Turnbull (New Zealand), Mr. and Mrs. Myles Patterson (Victoria), Messrs. Frederick Michell, Henry Michell, James Price, T. Plewman (Cape Colony), Rev. Joseph Hilliard, Messrs. John Inglis, Jacob L. Montefiore (New South Wales), J. Murray Kennedy, George Green, F. Banks, William Manley, Herbert Shaw, Mrs. Isaacs, Mr. Robert Power, Mr. and Mrs. Charles J.

Taylor (New Zealand), Messrs. Henry Blaine (Cape Colony), Martin Innes Taylor (New Zealand), J. Flack, James Alexander, Thomas Walters, Martin Kirby, John Findley, A. Charles de Crespigny, Dr. W. R. Pugh (Victoria), Messrs. W. B. d'Almeida, J. F. Joaquim, Nathaniel Levin (New Zealand), J. H. Mayhew, W. H. Carter, William Stone, J. S. Glover, A. G. Fowler, Mr. J. J. Phelps and Mrs. Phelps (Victoria), Messrs. W. A. Mackinnon, C.B.; Alexander Turnbull (New Zealand), John A. Tiffin, A. Bugel, Frederick S. Isaac, C. Birch, S. B. Browning (New Zealand), Frederick B. Birt, C. Bethill, H. B. Halswell, S. Joshua, J. Snell, Thomas Massey, E. A. Wallace, Samuel Hill, George Tinline (South Australia), Rev. A. Cazenove, Messrs. J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), Hugh L. Taylor, (New Zealand), Hugh L. Taylor, jun. (New Zealand), E. R. Siron, B. Isaac, John Marshall, Miss Wilkinson, Miss Evans, Messrs. C. H. Goode, C. D. Buckler, Thomas Short, Charles Conquest, Edward Pharazya (New Zealand), Clayton, A. Isaac, D. Mackie, O. U. Mordaunt, G. W. Cooper, Dr. Herschell, Messrs. Vesey-Fitzgerald, E. B. Cargill (New Zealand), John Pulker, G. R. Godson (Canada), W. Peacock, Alexander Rogers (late Bombay), Mrs. Edward Barry, Rev. Edward James, Messrs. W. L. Shepherd, William Hemmant (Commissioner for Queensland at Paris Exhibition), Thomas Hamilton (Queensland), James Bonwick (Victoria), F. MacKinlay, A. Scrimgeour, W. Scrimgeour, Hugh R. Fletcher (Newfoundland), J. Larkin, J. Cashel Hoey (New Zealand), H. M. Hyndman, B. Thomson, J. H. Thomas, N. Kumagai (Japan), J. Sanjo (Japan), Alfred Romilly (Queensland), Mr. and Mrs. Wolf Harris (New Zealand), Messrs D. G. Michie, W. P. Lee, T. M. Harrington, Thomas Baynes (Antigua, West Indies), Mr. and Mrs. Jepson Atkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Lester Walker, Mr. B. Lewis, C. J. Poole, Mr. Arthur Lyttelton Young and Miss Young Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), &c. &c.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec.) read the Minutes of the Fourth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session, which were confirmed.

HIS GRACE then called upon Sir JULIUS VOGEL, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for New Zealand, to read the following paper on—

NEW ZEALAND AND THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE EMPIRE.

I propose first to ask you to allow me to give you a few facts about New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, and, subsequently, to consider these facts in relation to the great subject of a Federated Empire. As practical men, I am sure you will agree with me that the question of Federation must be considered on more than general grounds. Whenever it is discussed with the idea of deciding some immediate proposition for putting it in force, it will have to bear the brunt of the most searching investigation in relation to its effects on every part of the vast dominions which it concerns. As an ardent advocate of Federation, I think I shall humbly perform

some small service to the cause if I discuss the condition of that part of the Empire with which I am best acquainted, and point out how the various facts to which I allude have, more or less, a bearing on the great question itself. If those connected with the central seat of the Empire would perform a like task, a step would be made towards focussing the various interests to be served, which would greatly aid the final determination of the exact details of the plan to be advocated. When the day arrives for propounding the scheme with a view to its immediate adoption, the realms of generalisation and of sentiment, in which at present the question too much dwells, will have to be deserted for a matter-of-fact material and precise footing on the dominions themselves which are the subject of the proposal.

How to reach New Zealand naturally is the first inquiry. New Zealand, in common with some of the Australian Colonies, enjoys this advantage: a visit to it may be made the excuse for sauntering over almost every portion of the habitable world. The emigrant whose one idea is to reach the land he intends to adopt may find his best route in a direct sailing vessel. Excellent ships, excellently found, constantly leave Great Britain for various ports in New Zealand, and passages may be obtained at from £15 to £50, according to the class the emigrant desires to travel. If pleasure is his object, or if with even business objects in view, he can afford time and money, a wide range of selection lies open to him. He may proceed to either Canada or the United States, and after roaming over the Eastern States at his ease, find his way to Chicago by one of the innumerable lines of railway that converge on that marvellous commercial centre. From Chicago he can proceed by way of Omaha, by railway, to the far West. From New York to San Francisco it takes seven days, and from London San Francisco may be reached in nineteen days. The traveller by this route, however, generally prefers to loiter some time on the road. From San Francisco splendidly-appointed and powerful steamers run to New Zealand in twenty-three days. On their way they call at the interesting kingdom of Hawaia, or as it is often called, the Sandwich Islands. Hawaia is interesting from many points of view; one of great moment as affecting the future of the numerous islands of the Southern Ocean is the capacity for governing, and for being governed under a constitutional system, exhibited by the native race. Recently Hawaia entered into a treaty with the United States, in virtue of which, in exchange for the admission of American goods to Hawaia free of duty, the sugar produced in Hawaia is admitted to the United

States free of duty. This is equivalent to something like a bonus of £15 a ton. Its effect may be recognised. From a dull, lethargic condition, Hawaia has sprung into an animated existence, comparable only with the vitality one notices when gold in quantity is newly-discovered in a country in which it was unsuspected. What does it matter—gold, diamonds, sugar, oil? Let any country suddenly discover an undreamt-of source of wealth, and its inhabitants are not slow to make use of it. £15 a ton added to the value of sugar has, in little more than one year, nearly doubled its production, and Hawaia, under the impulse the United States has kindly lent it, will probably become the seat of manufacture of colossal fortunes. But we must proceed on our voyage. The route from Hawaia passes close to the Navigator or Samoan group of islands. It would, I think, have been better for the English Government to have taken possession of these instead of Fiji, if the annexation of only one group was to be permitted. It is sadly a pity to allow these islands, the best in many respects of all Polynesia, to remain as they are—the theatre of innumerable lawless scenes. The San Francisco steamer touches Auckland, and then proceeds to Sydney. Coastal steamers carry the passengers from Auckland to any part of New Zealand they desire to reach.

Another and very favourite route is by a fast steamer to Melbourne, round the Cape of Good Hope. The passage to Melbourne this way has been made in forty-two days. From Melbourne there are plenty of excellent steamers constantly leaving for various ports in New Zealand. Those who wish to see as much as possible, and, like Childe Harold,

“— traverse Paynim shores and cross earth's central line,”

may visit almost every part of Southern Europe, Egypt, India, Java, Sumatra, and Singapore *en route* to New Zealand by one of the many plans which can be adopted in connection with the route by Suez or the Canal. The passenger can embark at Southampton, and proceeding through the Mediterranean, stopping at Gibraltar at Malta and after passing through the Suez Canal, at Suez and Aden, he can reach Galle in the Island of Ceylon without change of steamer. Thence he can embark in a steamer which, after calling at Albany in West Australia, and Glenelg in South Australia, will land him in Melbourne. Instead of proceeding by sea and land to Suez, he may roam through Europe, and from Marseilles, Trieste, or Brindisi reach Alexandria. After making himself acquainted with Egypt he may reach Suez. He can then

travel over India if he like, and when he arrives at Galle he is not bound to the route before mentioned to Melbourne. He can take steamer to Singapore, and thence, by way of Torres Straits, touching at various points, including Batavia, Somerset, and Bowen, reach Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, and Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. From Sydney there are frequent steamers to New Zealand.

The following approximately represents the time from England to New Zealand by the various routes: By sailing vessel, 90 days; by San Francisco route, 41 days; by route by sea through the Canal to Suez by Galle and Melbourne, 61 days; by overland to Brindisi, and by railway across Isthmus of Suez, 53 days; by overland to Brindisi by Singapore, Brisbane, and Sydney, 61 days.

Not without an object have I thus referred to the various ways of reaching New Zealand. Some of my audience, thoroughly familiar with what I have described, will, I fear, accuse me of a commonplace introduction. But there are many who take an interest in the Colony less well informed than those of my hearers to whom I have alluded. At any rate, most people will agree with me that the circumstances of a country cannot be well understood unless amongst those circumstances is taken into account its connection and means of communication with other countries.

This brings me to two remarkable facts; facts which will, I think, materially shape the future destiny of New Zealand, viz. there is no country of any moment which possesses in proportion to its area such an extensive sea-board, nor is there any civilised country of importance so completely isolated from other countries. It is customary to term New Zealand the Great Britain of the South, but Great Britain is twenty miles from Europe, New Zealand a thousand miles at the least from Australia. Its immense sea-board must inevitably tend to make New Zealand an essentially maritime country. Its isolated position, not I admit without some disadvantages as regards commerce, has compensating qualifications,—in the self-helpfulness, self-reliance, and love of country it is calculated to produce. Without any artificial fiscal provision, it gives great advantage to local productions and manufactures. They start in the race favourably weighted in competing with foreign producers. When it is considered that its mineral wealth is abundant, and that it can produce all the staples that thrive in climates varying from the temperate to the sub-tropical, it will be seen that within itself New Zealand is almost the epitome of a whole hemisphere. Within its narrow limits thousands of different interests will, in course of time, materially aid each other.

Pray do not do me the injustice to suppose that I wish to see New Zealand independent of other countries, or think that her being so would be a source of profit to herself. The great industries of the country will grow only by competition with other countries. Time will gradually show what the Colony can do best itself, what it can best procure from abroad, and what it can best supply in exchange.

A long line upon the waters, the three islands of New Zealand extend over a length of nearly 1,200 miles. Their general direction is north-north-east to south-south-west. North and south the islands extend about 900 miles, so that they possess a great variety of climate. Southland is of nearly the same temperature as England, the north of Auckland is semi-tropical. The average breadth of the islands is about 120 miles. No part of the Colony is distant from the sea-coast more than seventy-five miles. At Auckland the island narrows so that from coast to coast can be reached in six miles. The north island is about 500 miles long; its greatest breadth about 250 miles. The south island is about the same length—its greatest breadth 200 miles. The area of the north island is about 44,000 square miles, or rather less than that of England. The area of the south is 55,000 square miles, or about the size of England and Wales. The two islands are separated by Cook's Straits, thirteen miles across at the narrowest part. Stewart's Island is to the south of the Southern (sometimes called Middle) Island, and is separated from it by Foveaux Straits. The three islands have an area almost equal to Great Britain and Ireland.

Let us run rapidly over them. But first it must be remarked that though as separate governments the provinces cease to exist, still as provincial districts they constitute convenient geographical divisions. Let us suppose ourselves at Auckland, on the east coast of the province of the same name in the North Island. Auckland possesses in the waters of the Waitemata and the surrounding scenery one of the loveliest harbours in the world. For beauty it is often joined with the celebrated harbours of Rio Janiero, of Naples, and of Sydney. To the north of Auckland the province extends some 200 miles. The water facilities of this portion of the Colony are very considerable. Here dwells the Ngapuhi tribe of Maories, as the native race are termed, whose lasting adherence to the English rule have gained for them the title of the "loyal Ngapuhi." At the Bay of Islands, 120 miles north of the city of Auckland, the treaty of Waitangi, by which the Maories acknowledged themselves British subjects, was signed in 1840. The capabilities of the northern part of the Auckland province have as yet been

sparingly developed. It is known to contain large deposits of coal, it possesses splendid forests of the far-famed kauri tree, its soil yields well to the cultivator. I scarcely think that we know yet for what production that soil is best suited. There is a railway at the Bay of Islands, to connect the coast with the principal coal-field of this part of the Colony. Some portion of a railway has already been constructed which will ultimately connect Auckland with the northernmost part of the island.

Let us return again to Auckland city. Some few hours by steamer, without leaving the waters of the harbour, the gold-fields of the Thames and of Coromandel can be reached, situated on either side of the Frith of Thames. Splendid gold mines have been found and are being worked on both these fields. Fifty miles further up the Thames River there is the Ohinemuri district, supposed to be rich in gold, but which has hitherto not been much worked, containing also rich agricultural land. Coming back again to Auckland, six miles across a narrow isthmus, the west coast of the island is reached, and here is situated the Manukau harbour. The entrance to the Manukau is not good in all weathers. The harbour itself is serviceable, and is much used by steamers. From the Manukau the route to the south is shorter than by the east coast. Some forty miles from Auckland the Waikato district commences. This was conquered from the natives in the war which commenced in 1868. It is a rapidly-improving district, containing a large area of good land, some of which is still in the hands of the natives. Cultivation is proceeding within it to an immense extent. It is already connected with Auckland by railway, and the extension of this railway will ultimately connect Auckland with the southern part of the island. The Waikato is a fine river. It finds its exit on the west coast, thirty miles south of the Manukau heads. The provincial district of Auckland is very extensive, and varied in point of resource. It has a delightful climate, a large quantity of excellent land, and great mineral wealth. Its forests are magnificent. In Auckland only is the giant kauri pine tree found.

Let us now proceed south from the Waitemata harbour. In a few hours the steamer passes Tauranga and Opotiki, both fine settlements, and both also subjected to the use of the colonists by the results of the 1868 war. The last is in the Bay of Plenty. Here the island widens out, the east cape is rounded, and we soon come to Gisborne, a rising town on the shores of Poverty Bay. The district of this bay is by no means of the character its name would denote, but, on the contrary, possesses some of the richest

land in the colony. Here are found innumerable springs of petroleum oil. Efforts are being made to obtain this valuable product in quantity by boring. The amount obtainable on the surface is comparatively small. After passing Poverty Bay, the province of Hawke Bay is reached, and we soon come to its capital, Napier, one of the most rising towns in the Colony. There is splendid land in the province of Hawke Bay. Before proceeding further south, mention should be made of the Taupo Lake in the interior of the island, which has for a long while been regarded as a key of surpassing importance towards securing the peace of the whole island. Happily the relations of the two races no longer make it necessary to look upon Taupo from that strategical point of view which at one time invested it with much interest. Nor must we leave the interior of the island without a reference, however bare, to the numerous hot and cold mineral springs possessing curative virtues of the highest moment. From the well-authenticated cures traced to these waters, it is not too much to expect that the day will come when they will share with similar springs in Europe the visits of invalids. Already they are much resorted to from all parts of New Zealand, from Australia, and from India.

We leave Napier, and, in from twenty-six to thirty hours, reach Wellington, the seat of government of the Colony. Wellington possesses an excellent harbour, and is the port of a large extent of productive country. No town in the Colony is advancing more rapidly in wealth and importance than Wellington. It is the capital of the province of the same name. We will now go back to Auckland, and start from the Manukau harbour. In a few hours we reach New Plymouth, the capital of Taranaki province. This district has been called the garden of the Colony. It is impossible to overrate its value. In past times it has unhappily been the scene of native troubles. In proportion, indeed, to its value seems to have been the reluctance of the natives to allow it to pass to the use of the colonists. The country in which dwells the people of the so-called Maori king, lies between New Plymouth and the centre of the Waikato district. Although for years there has been no open hostilities with the king, he has dwelt in his country in more or less sullen isolation, not violating the laws, but declining to come within the pale of European settlement. In 1878, Sir George Arney, the Acting-Governor, my colleague the late Sir Donald McLean, and I, were accidentally compelled by stress of weather to take shelter in the harbour of Kawhia, situated a little above New Plymouth. Kawhia is the last harbour that remains exclusively in the Maoris' hands, and so highly do they value it that

no provocation has ever been held sufficient to justify our taking it from them, as, of course, could easily have been done during the times of war. On the occasion to which I refer, a touching interview took place on board our little vessel between Sir Donald McLean and the king's son. Great benefit arose from this interview. It led to an approach to friendly relations with the king, and at length, in 1875, Sir Donald McLean met the king at Waitomo. The anxious desire, impossible to be realised, of the king to be restored to his old territory of Waikato has delayed the completion of terms of amity and friendship with the king and his followers. Sir Donald McLean, whose life was passed in devoted efforts to ameliorate the condition of the native race, and to bring into harmony the relations of the two races, died scarcely more than a year ago. Before he passed away "to the great majority," he had the happiness of knowing that his life-long labour had borne fruit, that all fear of anything like a native war had ceased to exist, and that time and negotiation only were required to settle the exact terms of a peaceful settlement of all past differences with the Maories.

The Maori is a noble specimen of man; there is little doubt that he comes from the fine race that people the island of Sumatra. No one ever understood more thoroughly than Sir Donald McLean what was needed to bring the Maori to civilisation. Useful labour was the great object for the Maori which he always kept in view. In the love of and capacity for work lie the boundary lines between civilised and uncivilised races. The one has aspirations utterly unknown to the other. The process of civilisation may be described as that of teaching to uncivilised man that his life has greater objects than those of mere existence; that he has not merely to live himself, but to aid by his life the lives of others; that there is a to-morrow as well as to-day; that the path of improvement is of practically illimitable extent; that nothing worth having can be reckoned on without true, hard, and conscientious work; and, above all, that the great Creator of the Universe has so fashioned man, that whilst his improvement is due to his own exertions, those exertions are themselves a source of happiness, and no existence is so miserable as that which is devoid of occupation. The humblest member of a civilised race looks forward to the possibility of improving his position. The unwritten condition of civilised existence is a continuous and innumerable series of grades, and no civilised being is so high that he has not an ambition to fulfil. The uncivilised man, on the other hand, has a craving for rest. The dormant nobility of his character finds an ennobling channel in an occasional lust of conquest, his idea of labour is to

obtain by force or stratagem that which does not belong to him. In his mode of warfare he often shows that, given to him the knowledge by which he may worthily use his powers, there are within him the makings of a great human being.

The Maori was not an utter savage when we first knew him, and it is far from improbable that he would have worked out to a great extent his own civilisation. He wanted the knowledge that has been handed down to civilised man from past ages. He was, however, not without an appreciation of the value of labour. The missionaries found him of a reverent nature, and eager to imbibe their teachings. The wars which from time to time desolated the Colony threw the Maori back, for in time of war, alas! the sword is the sole medium of education. It was on the eve of the greatest of New Zealand wars, that James Edward Fitzgerald, in deploring its necessity, predicted that war would never gain the end we wanted. With powerful effect he quoted the well-known lines Bulwer has placed in the mouth of the Cardinal Prince:

"Beneath the rule of men entirely great
The pen is mightier than the sword. Behold
The Arch-Enchanter's wand—itself a nothing—
But taking sorcery from the master hand
To paralyse the Cæsars!

Take away the sword,
States can be saved without it."

In after years we learnt to realise this, and yet that we did so we owe to the chivalry of the Maori race. In 1869, the British Government decided to remove every soldier from New Zealand. To make the desertion thoroughly complete, the warlike stores, even I believe the flags, were sold or handed over. So complete a renunciation seems peculiarly marvellous now, compared, as one cannot help comparing it, with the active aid which a different party in power are at present lending to another Colony. I have heard that the desertion of New Zealand has been boastfully justified by the result. It would be well for those who dare indulge in the boast to be silent whilst men still live who know the intensity of the danger to which the mercenary conduct of the Government of Great Britain subjected the colonists. To the chivalry of the Maories themselves, indeed, is largely due the fact that frightful disaster did not follow the mother-country's desertion of her young offspring. Had Titokowaru and Te Kooti, who were in arms on the opposite coasts of the north island, united, and the king joined them, immense losses would have followed. It has always seemed to me that the Maories themselves, in scorn of the desertion, felt more friendly to the colonists in consequence. One thing at least

may be said, the abandonment of Great Britain led the colony to adopt that bold scheme of immigration and public works to which I shall presently refer.

It is due to the present native minister, Mr. Sheehan, to say, that notwithstanding past political differences he has generously recognised the value of Sir Donald McLean's policy and labour. In an elaborate and able statement of the native position and future native policy, Mr. Sheehan used some words which I quote, as their assuring effects may be valuable: "Now I come to a question which has been raised on several occasions by the public press—namely, the possibility of another native outbreak. In the first place, I will mention to the House what is at the present time the precise number of the native population. The last census, taken in 1874, gave us the following return: For the North Island—males, 28,649; females, 19,769; or a total of 48,418. The population of the South Island is about 8,600, making a gross total of about 46,000. We must also remember how that population is distributed. A large portion of it is to the north of Auckland, another large portion is located between Auckland and the Waikato, another large portion is situated on the East Coast, and yet another large portion is located in Hawke's Bay. I say that in all these districts the chances of a native outbreak are absolutely infinitesimal. The natives of those districts themselves would, whenever called upon, do as they have done before—assist us to put down any native outbreak. If there be any part of the native population in the North Island who we may expect would be the prime movers in a native outbreak it is those who live in the King country. The King country contains only 5,255 persons, and of these but 2,856 are males. Of course we must not forget that when a crisis comes a number of native women can take up arms, and use them with considerable effect; but, looking at the fact that we have 25,000 or 30,000 loyal natives on our side, the chances of a native outbreak are simply nil."

The greatest efforts are now made to educate Maori children, and especially they are taught the English language. In two generations, such of them as remain will, in my opinion, be an educated and civilised people, and from them the race will increase and be renewed.

But we must rejoin our steamer at New Plymouth. We pass the enormous Mount Egmont, rising almost sheer from the seacoast. Frequently on a bright day a cloud will envelop the middle of the mountain, but above it clear in the sunshine will be seen an immense snow-covered pyramid suspended apparently in mid-

air. We come to Cook's Straits, and pass not far from the entrance to Wanganui, a town situated in the river of the same name. Wanganui is supported by a splendidly productive district, and has a great future before it. Between Wanganui and Wellington is the Feilding Settlement. It is, I venture to think, of peculiar interest to us, for it has, so to speak, something of the character of this Institute. We all know how much the Colonial Institute is indebted to the constant support it has received from its President, the Duke of Manchester. The Feilding Settlement is similarly indebted to the same support. It is conducted by the Emigrant Aid Association, of which his Grace is chairman. I have pleasure in adding that the Settlement promises, like this Institution, to be a great success.

We now come to Wellington. The distance to it by water from Manukau is much less than by the east coast, so that the usual water route from Auckland to Wellington is by the Manukau and west coast.

A few words now about the railways in the North Island. Their general design is a complete trunk from Wellington to Auckland, with a branch to the east or west coast, according as it may be decided whether the main line shall run along the east or west coast. The railway is being constructed from Wellington to the Manawatu Gorge, which lies about 100 miles to the north-east of Wellington. It is nearly opened to the prosperous Wairarapa district. From Napier the railway is being taken towards the Manawatu Gorge. On the west coast from Wanganui the line is also being taken toward the same point, so that from Wellington there will be a line bifurcating at the Manawatu, to Napier on the one side and to Waganui on the other. From Wanganui the line is continued towards New Plymouth to the north, whilst from New Plymouth it is being carried south towards Waganui. I have already said that the line has been carried from Auckland to the Waikato. It is a question how the line is to be taken from the Waikato south. Is it to be carried to the east of Lake Taupo to Hawke Bay, or westward to New Plymouth? The latter route has hitherto been forbidden. It passes through the heart of the King country. The number of white men who are acquainted with this country are very few. I observe it stated in the papers that Sir George Grey hopes to be able to obtain the consent of the natives to carrying the railway through their land from Waikato to New Plymouth. I do not hesitate to say if this can be done its effects will be, economically, commercially, and politically, most beneficial. In my opinion such a through communication would so operate on the widely ramified

interests of the whole Island as intrinsically to largely increase the value of the land in it available for cultivation. The money value arising from the proposed communication might be set down in millions.

We will now pass to the middle, or south Island. Suppose that we take steamer from Wellington, we can reach Nelson, the capital town of the provincial district of the same name, in a very few hours. Nelson possesses one of the most enjoyable climates in the world; the town itself is like a large garden. There is a great deal of business carried on between it and the gold-fields of the west coast of the middle island. There is a railway for a few miles out of Nelson, but it is not yet decided how Nelson will be brought into communication with the rest of the middle island railway system. For many years gold was known to exist on the upper part of the west coast, but the results were small until about 1864-65. I can well remember that up to this time the greater part of the west coast was considered absolutely worthless. The popular idea of it was that it always rained there, that the soil had become a sort of peat from the constant damp, and that even wealth would be dearly purchased by an enforced residence there. But the great wizard Gold has changed all this. He waved his wand, and just as he had previously done for Otago, and earlier still for Victoria, he wrought with the magic of the *auri sacra fames* a change so prodigious that it is difficult to believe in the anterior condition. That territory, regarded as worthless in 1864, has up to the end of 1876 produced gold to the value of £14,000,000. Prosperous towns have come into existence, and gradually the settlement is progressing further south. Gold, as is usually the case, has proved the forerunner to further wealth. Coal of a splendid description has been found along the coast in great abundance, and is about being worked on a large scale. The forests of the west coast contain excellent timber, and are very extensive. Proceeding south along the west coast, we pass Westport, at the mouth of the Buller River, Greymouth on the Grey River, and then we leave Nelson for the Westland provincial district.

It is this province, which is the new territory opened since 1864, to which I have referred. Previously there had been some, but not much, settlement on the west coast of the Nelson province. Hokitika, a thriving town, twenty miles from the Grey, is the capital of Westland. A great deal of settlement is proceeding further south. Its traces are to be seen occasionally from the steamer. But the gazer as the vessel steams on loses all interest in man's puny work in the stupendous efforts of nature, the records of which

meet his eye in the grand scenery of the west coast. A word must be said about the Sounds. Within them a large vessel may go close to the shore, and be moored to the trees. The southerly part of the west coast is grandly picturesque. Its resources are little known. Steps are being taken to open constant communication between it and the gold-fields of Otago. It should be observed that Westland extends south only to the Awarua River, in latitude about 44° S. Beyond it is Otago, which stretches across the island from east to west. Out of the southern extremity the Southland province was carved. Rounding the island, and passing through Foulweather Straits, which separate it from Stewart's Island, we come in the straits to Southland's port, the Bluff, and twenty miles inland is Southland's capital, the prosperous and highly-favoured town of Invercargill. With a small gap only to be filled up you can travel by railway from the Bluff to Dunedin, passing through a large extent of cultivated land, and wonderfully prolific agricultural and pastoral districts. The steamer takes us in a few hours from the Bluff to Port Chalmers, and eight miles further up the harbour we come to Dunedin. Comparisons are odious, and it is by no means my purpose to institute them between different parts of the Colony. But I may say of the people of Dunedin that they have literally displayed a genius for commerce. The advancement of Dunedin is one of the marvels, of which, indeed, there are several in the Australasian Colonies. Dunedin is itself, to my mind, the Chicago of Australasia.

We have reached Dunedin from Wellington by travelling all round the west and south of the middle island. But direct from Wellington, Dunedin is scarcely more than thirty hours' steaming.

Before I leave Otago I must say that this province was originally a Scotch settlement. Sixteen years have passed since all idea has been dispelled of maintaining in it an exclusively Scotch element. The gold discoveries in 1861 suddenly brought to Otago a large influx of population, and the old and the new, after a little effort, fraternised together. It may safely be said that the Scotch distinction now only remains in the sterling character, frugality, and indomitable perseverance of the people. Proceeding up the coast north, Oamaru and Timaru are passed. Both these towns are singularly thriving, and both owe their prosperity to the agricultural and pastoral wealth of the districts of which they are the collecting points. After Oamaru we come to the Waitaki river, which separates Otago from Canterbury. It is in the latter province that Timaru is situated.

But we will not enter Canterbury by a back door. We must

land at its chief port, Lyttelton, which may be reached from Wellington in about fifteen hours, and from Dunedin in about twenty hours.

Canterbury was settled under the auspices of the Church of England. It curiously retains its English character. I have frequently heard people say it is more English than any part, not only of New Zealand, but of any other Colony they have visited. The pioneers of Canterbury were a hardy, determined, and singularly able body of men. Amongst them were some of conspicuous ability. Need I go further than to name John Robert Godley. How frequently is it the case that the obstacles of nature educate men's minds. The first settlers of Canterbury had to contend with a most discouraging obstacle. Everything combined to recommend Christchurch as the capital, but Christchurch was separated from the port by a high range of rugged hills, well-nigh impassable. An indifferent road was made by a large circuit, but the whole province suffered materially from its isolation from the sea coast. Then stepped forward William Sefton Moorhouse. What did it matter that the inhabitants were few?—he had infinite faith in Canterbury's future, and he boldly persuaded these few people to cut a tunnel under the hills at a cost of something like a quarter of a million of money. It is this faith in the country's capabilities that has made New Zealand what it is. Mr. Macandrew, the superintendent of Otago, had as much faith in Otago as his brother superintendent, Mr. Moorhouse, had in Canterbury, and both in Otago and Canterbury they never failed to urge on great works to open up the country. A history of the industrial progress of these two provinces would fill a large volume. The subject is so fascinating to me that I feel if I embarked on it I should try your patience, and I have yet much to say.

Christchurch is a busy, prosperous place, with some of the characteristics of an English cathedral city. In 1857 the population was 978; it is now over 13,000. In 1857 the number of houses was 177; the number is now nearly 5,000. The railway from Christchurch goes north towards Marlborough. In a few months the line south will be opened for traffic through to Dunedin. At present there are some gaps not yet completed. What shall I say of the far-famed Canterbury plain? An enormous plain without trees, and with great rivers liable at flood times to carve out changes in their route—its first aspect could not have been altogether charming. But the value of its land was recognised, and the high price, for the Colonies, of £2 per acre was set upon it with the right to select anywhere. For years and years

it has been greedily purchased, and though the best land has gone, and the purchaser must now go back to the hills, the land hunger still continues. To the end of 1876 the land revenue of Canterbury amounted to £3,400,000. Of this £553,000 were obtained in 1876, so that the demand has not ceased. When I say that it has not been uncommon to get out of the land the first year more than its cost, you will not wonder at the eagerness to purchase.

Before I take leave of Canterbury I must mention that between Timaru and Lyttelton there is Akaroa, possessing a harbour second to none in the Colony. I venture to predict that Akaroa will become of great importance whenever, as sooner or later must be done, communication is opened between it and the interior.

I have now only to refer to the Marlborough Province. In four hours from Wellington, Picton is reached. It is charmingly situated, and possesses a splendid harbour. A railway of 20 miles takes one to the capital town of the Province—Blenheim. Marlborough has great pastoral and agricultural resources, besides extensive forests of useful timber. It has in addition mineral wealth. A considerable quantity of alluvial gold has been found, and lately I believe some rich auriferous quartz reefs.

I have travelled over New Zealand with you—in, I admit, a most cursory manner—still I have endeavoured to give you a traveller's view of its topography. From what I have said you will have no difficulty in remembering that from Auckland you can proceed east or west to Wellington. That in the first case you will take Hawke Bay in your route; in the second Taranaki. That from Wellington west and south you reach Nelson and Westland; that you can reach the west of Otago and Southland also by that route. Lastly, that the usual way to Otago and Southland is by Lyttelton, Canterbury. And that Marlborough lies just across the straits, a little out of the way of the direct route either to Canterbury or Nelson.

A few words now about the railways of the South Island. Their general design is a through trunk line north and south. The connection between Canterbury and Marlborough and Nelson has yet to be made, as also the connection between the east coast and the west. There are several branches, some of them indeed of such importance as to partake of the character of main lines. Especially I may mention the line from Invercargill to the interior lakes, with which Otago is richly gifted, as also the branch from the important inland town of Tokomairiro to Lawrence, the centre of a large gold-field. An equally important line through the

centre of Otago is projected, and in Canterbury there are several branch lines.

I will not detain you with a long description of the political institutions of the country ; but the subject cannot be left altogether untouched. Until quite lately the Colony was divided into ten provinces. Each province was largely endowed with independent powers of government, especially in relation to all subjects pertaining to settlement. I attribute much of the past progress of the Colony to the minute local care and emulation arising out of these divisions. The time came when a variety of considerations led to its being thought desirable to abolish the separate forms of provincial government, and this change was finally carried into operation little more than twelve months since. It was not effected without a great deal of opposition. When the memory of the bitterness and fierceness of the struggle is somewhat toned down, it will, I think, be recognised that there was something peculiarly creditable to the people of New Zealand in the manner in which the contest was carried on. A larger and more complete revolution of the kind could not be conceived ; yet it was effected without anything in the nature of a disturbance from beginning to end. It was in fact argued out, and the will of the majority was accepted. It would have been unfortunate if such a change had been made without that consideration which alone could spring from active opposition. Who is there can fail to sympathise with those who, not recognising the necessity for the change, tenaciously clung to the institutions under which the Colony had conspicuously flourished ? On the other hand, who can fail to respect the determination which, founded on conviction, peacefully brought about the result ? I am not now expressing an opinion on the merits of the subject ; my wish is to bring before you a people that can by constitutional means only deal with the largest matters affecting its own destiny.

There is now but one Government in the country. The Governor, appointed by the Crown, acts only with the advice of his ministers, and when that advice is not approved by the majority in Parliament, he seeks fresh advisers, or commands a general election. Parliament, or the Assembly as it is called, consists of two Houses, the one nominated by the Queen, i.e. the Governor, the other elected by the people. If you ask me if a system of party government prevails, I should be puzzled to reply in a very definite manner. There is no doubt an approach to a party system, but parties have little adhesion. Occasionally for a time, whilst a great question or a decided policy is under consideration, parties hold well together ; but rarely is there an instance of continued and prolonged party

organisation. No constituency ever requires more of a representative than the assurance that he will continue to support this or that Government as long as he is able to approve its measures. I have often asked myself, Are we in respect to party government in advance or behind this country? At the first blush it would appear that want of age and of organisation explains the deficiency in party cohesion, and that time will bring about a different state of things. It may be so, but my observation of late years rather leads me to conclude that party allegiance in this country is undergoing a weakening, not a strengthening process, and I am not sure that the progress of education will not encourage a tendency to relieve representatives from party organisation. I do not say such a result is desirable; indeed, I think it will make good government very difficult. Be this as it may, it is of great interest to consider whether the Colonial institutions, devised by modern thought, and to a certain extent untrammelled by the tyranny of custom, are in advance of the institutions from which they spring; whether, in fact, they will grow to be more like the original, or the original approach to their shape.

I wish to give you as few statistics as possible, for I know how dull it is to listen to a long array of figures, which it is difficult to follow. I shall, in printing this paper, include a synopsis of the statistics of the twenty-four years ending the 31st December, 1876. These require to be studied to be understood.

I may, however, briefly read a few figures showing the results (the latest I have) of the first three quarters of last year, 1877:—

NEW ZEALAND.

Trade and Revenue Returns for Three Quarters ended 30th September, 1877.

EXPORTS:		Quantity.	Value.
Gold	Ounces	282,312	£1,136,298
Silver	"	83,893	7,556
Wool	lbs.	44,714,245	2,577,942
Phormium	tons	782½	14,649
Kauri Gum	"	2,716½	91,860
Wheat, Provisions, Tallow, Timber, &c.			769,902
Total Exports			£4,598,207
IMPORTS:			
Total Imports			£5,372,908
REVENUE:		£	s. d.
Ordinary		1,639,896	13 1
Territorial		1,213,592	4 9
Total		£2,853,488	17 10
POPULATION:			
European and Chinese (estimated) at 30th Sept., 1877			411,160
Maori (estimated at about)			46,000

A mere comparison of figures is apt to mislead. Especially is this the case with regard to the figures relating to exports and imports. It by no means follows that the largest aggregate of these represents the largest prosperity. Let us take an example. We will suppose that a given extent of land produces £100,000 worth of wool, which is exported, and in return for it £100,000 worth of wheat imported. We have here an aggregate of exports and imports of £200,000. Now let us suppose that the land being partly put under crop yields £100,000 worth of wheat, and £50,000 worth of wool; that the wheat is consumed in the country, that the wool is exported, and that in return for it agricultural implements and machinery are imported. We have here only an aggregate of £100,000 of exports and imports. There can be no question as to which of the two examples is most favourable to the Colony, but that one shows an aggregate exterior trade of only half that of the less favourable condition. It would be well if this example, one of many, were borne in mind, to lessen the tendency to draw deductions from the mere quantities of exports and imports.

Save a few products of the sea, the land gives to man all that he requires for his use, all that ministers to his comforts, all that constitutes his luxuries. The land of New Zealand yields largely and variously. First let me touch on its mineral wealth. Before 1861 some amount of gold was obtained from the Nelson and Coromandel gold-fields, but it was not until in that year the Otago gold-fields were discovered that New Zealand held high rank as a gold-producing country. Since that time, including 1861, to the end of 1876, Otago, Westland, Nelson, Auckland, and Marlborough have produced no less a quantity than 8,287,800 ounces, valued at £82,117,000. I believe the auriferous resources of the country are as yet sparingly developed, and that there remains to be obtained a vast quantity of alluvial and quartz gold. Iron exists in great quantity, but the conditions hitherto of population demand and mechanical labour have not promoted its production. It is a wealth that only slumbers; in time it must prove of great moment. Copper has also been found in quantity, and lately evidence has been shown of the existence of extensive deposits of silver. The islands abound in coal of different qualities. There is the lignite, little different from charred wood; there is the brown coal, so much used on the continent; and there is splendid bituminous coal, better in quality than the famous Newcastle coal of New South Wales. One of the purposes of some of the railways constructed has been to enable coal to be economically obtained, and we may safely look forward to large

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND FROM 1863 TO 1876 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Population (exclusive of Maoris).			Able to Read and Write.*	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.	Immigration (excess over Emigration).	Inhabited Houses.	Crown Lands.			Land (including Sown Grasses) under Cultivation.	Year.
	Males.	Females.	Totals.							Waste Lands sold in each Year.	Cash Realized.	Free Grants.†		
										Acres.	£	Acres.	Acres.	
1863	17,914	14,540	32,554	..	..	..	..	1,091	..	..	..	..	..	1863
1864	20,781	16,411	37,192	..	..	..	..	2,057	..	..	..	..	..	1864
1865	26,266	20,184	46,450	..	1,460	470	406	3,937	..	..	..	..	..	1865
1866	27,066	22,196	49,802	..	1,722	406	404	2,525	..	51,972	33,156	14	..	1866
1867	33,679	26,734	59,413	..	1,966	434	478	3,042	..	141,169	79,060	6,169	121,648	1867
1868	41,107	30,486	71,593	37,681	2,272	582	534	6,130	12,812	239,128	160,839	6,277	141,007	1868
1869	46,394	34,317	79,711	..	2,647	704	603	8,637	..	477,021	222,885	46,730	166,940	1869
1870	61,062	37,959	99,021	65,753	3,146	1,092	690	6,064	..	424,254	204,113	47,016	..	1870
1871	73,680	46,132	125,812	..	3,441	1,109	878	16,222	22,398	449,368	285,365	18,834	226,621	1871
1872	106,978	58,070	164,048	..	4,064	1,231	1,091	20,991	..	658,337	396,657	40,335	..	1872
1873	106,680	66,578	172,158	..	5,115	1,983	1,485	35,120	..	529,437	330,998	66,853	..	1873
1874	117,376	73,231	190,607	123,088	6,501	2,921	1,878	8,527	37,996	691,174	595,858	47,198	382,655	1874
1875	125,080	79,034	204,114	..	7,490	2,757	1,908	12,309	..	503,112	341,094	62,681	..	1875
1876	131,929	86,799	218,668	151,431	8,466	2,640	2,038	7,599	..	603,406	528,028	56,975	..	1876
1877	140,112	91,997	232,618	..	8,918	2,702	2,050	4,859	54,015	288,917	237,416	76,743	676,909	1877
1878	145,732	102,668	248,400	..	9,391	2,662	2,085	860	..	199,399	192,065	42,205	..	1878
1879	156,431	110,555	266,986	..	9,718	2,721	1,931	3,641	..	112,211	116,941	145,449	783,435	1879
1880	162,404	117,156	279,560	173,459	10,277	2,703	1,851	3,577	..	76,766	88,419	37,256	997,477	1880
1881	173,406	125,540	298,946	..	10,592	2,642	1,864	4,786	57,182	92,642	110,973	123,796	1,140,279	1881
1882	184,349	147,511	331,860	199,294	10,795	3,194	1,873	4,973	..	338,576	389,107	183,673	1,226,222	1882
1883	194,349	147,511	341,860	..	11,222	3,645	2,276	8,811	..	786,250	590,768	484,541	1,416,933	1883
1884	213,294	162,562	375,856	..	12,844	4,161	2,828	38,106	61,356	648,800	860,471	238,581	1,651,712	1884
1885	225,680	173,495	399,075	..	14,438	5,712	3,209	25,270	..	318,682	448,697	486,335	1,943,663	1885
1886	..	..	..	..	16,168	4,904	3,196	11,956	..	497,416	846,831	31,146	2,377,402	1886

* This information has been correctly ascertained only for the years in which a census of the Colony was taken.

† Including free grants to immigrants, to naval and military settlers, reserves for public purposes, Native reserves, and old land claims; but the larger portion of these grants since the year 1862 have been to Natives, under the provisions of "The Native Lands Act, 1862."

‡ In 1874 the Maori population was estimated at 45,470, making the total population in 1874, 387,330.

Year.	Live Stock.*				Postal.						Shipper.				Year.	
	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Letters (Received and Despatched).	Newspapers (Received and Despatched).	Postal Revenue.	Number of Money Orders Issued.	Amount of Money Orders Issued.	Inwards.		Outwards.				
										Number.	£	Number of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Number of Vessels.		Tonnage.
1853	..	..	..	..	119,039	177,583	..	..	..	238	65,504	229	62,891	1853
1854	..	..	..	..	138,482	201,381	..	..	..	293	74,831	293	76,718	1854
1855	..	..	..	..	171,407	238,622	..	..	..	378	86,614	341	79,825	1855
1856	..	..	..	..	196,760	271,264	..	..	..	326	85,748	323	82,991	1856
1857	..	..	..	..	337,721	498,163	..	..	..	289	78,309	293	76,624	1857
1858	14,912	137,204	1,623,324	40,794	482,856	684,348	6,024	..	..	339	90,118	322	82,293	1858
1859	..	..	..	..	707,870	839,385	7,812	..	..	438	136,680	398	120,392	1859
1860	..	..	..	..	890,369	1,929,356	10,068	..	..	398	140,276	398	140,293	1860
1861	26,276	193,285	2,761,583	43,270	1,236,768	1,428,351	14, 08	..	..	696	197,986	646	205,350	1861
1862	..	..	..	..	2,122,232	2,064,123	22,710	1,410	6,590	813	201,366	783	288,647	1862
1863	..	..	..	..	3,403,248	3,397,669	32,329	11,586	56,703	1,164	419,935	1,094	394,665	1863
1864	49,409	249,760	4,937,273	61,276	4,151,142	4,306,017	39,302	16,591	78,566	1,117	426,004	1,089	432,253	1864		
1865	..	..	..	..	4,443,473	4,206,992	46,476	17,236	78,576	862	295,625	783	283,020	1865
1866	..	..	..	..	4,768,644	4,373,039	49,598	22,710	108,779	1,019	330,303	986	306,979	1866
1867	65,715	312,835	8,418,579	115,104	4,811,240	3,060,888	55,331	24,473	115,619	944	309,568	950	308,169	1867		
1868	..	..	..	..	4,977,199	3,283,615	57,107	25,854	118,211	851	277,105	872	287,716	1868
1869	..	..	..	..	5,016,695	3,563,147	68,007	28,427	127,218	764	260,731	771	247,764	1869
1870	..	..	..	..	5,645,879	3,889,662	55,780	31,864	140,404	756	273,151	766	265,407	1870
1871	81,028	436,592	9,700,629	151,460	6,081,697	4,179,784	70,249	36,291	157,397	729	274,643	709	265,618	1871		
1872	..	..	..	..	6,968,643	4,411,091	94,783	44,660	191,009	775	300,302	743	286,366	1872
1873	..	..	..	..	7,915,985	5,269,195	94,706	52,351	219,258	739	289,297	704	281,847	1873
1874	99,261	404,113	11,674,863	123,741	9,058,456	6,306,692	104,371	62,712	283,164	856	399,296	822	365,533	1874		
1875	..	..	..	..	10,427,851	6,811,277	132,496	78,027	298,481	926	416,727	940	417,820	1875
1876	..	..	..	..	11,770,737	7,962,748	129,263	80,256	310,268	878	393,180	866	393,334	1876

* This information has been correctly ascertained for the years in which a census of the Colony was taken.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND FROM 1853 TO 1876 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Population (exclusive of Maoris).			Able to Read and Write.*	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.	Immigration (excess over Emigration).	Inhabited Houses.*	Crown Lands.				Land (including Sown Grasses) under Cultivation.	Year.
	Males.	Females.	Totals.							Waste Lands sold in each Year.	Cash Realised.	Free Grants.†	Acres.		
1853	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,091	..	..	..	..	..	1853
1854	17,914	14,540	32,554	..	..	..	..	2,067	..	..	..	..	..	1854
1855	20,781	16,411	37,192	..	470	406	..	3,937	..	..	..	..	..	1855
1856	25,356	20,184	45,540	..	408	404	..	2,525	..	..	..	14	..	1856
1857	26,356	20,184	46,540	..	1,722	406	..	3,042	..	51,972	33,156	6,169	..	1857	
1858	37,679	22,196	49,802	..	1,966	434	..	6,130	12,812	141,159	79,060	6,277	..	1858	
1859	41,107	30,486	71,593	37,681	2,272	582	534	8,637	..	239,128	150,839	45,730	..	1859	
1860	45,394	34,317	79,711	..	2,647	704	603	6,064	..	232,985	162,885	47,016	..	1860	
1861	61,062	37,959	99,021	65,753	1,092	690	878	16,222	22,398	424,254	204,113	47,016	..	1861	
1862	79,680	46,132	125,812	..	1,092	878	1,091	20,991	..	449,358	285,365	18,834	..	1862	
1863	105,978	58,070	164,048	..	1,231	1,091	1,091	35,120	..	658,337	506,557	40,335	..	1863	
1864	106,580	65,578	172,158	123,088	1,983	1,485	1,485	8,527	37,996	629,437	380,998	66,853	..	1864	
1865	117,376	78,231	195,607	..	2,921	1,878	1,878	12,309	..	691,174	595,858	47,198	..	1865	
1866	125,080	79,034	204,114	..	2,757	1,908	1,908	7,599	..	603,112	341,094	62,681	..	1866	
1867	131,929	86,789	218,668	151,431	8,466	2,540	2,038	8,659	54,016	603,408	528,028	55,975	..	1867	
1868	134,621	91,997	226,618	..	2,702	2,060	2,060	4,859	..	288,917	287,416	76,743	..	1868	
1869	140,112	97,137	237,249	..	2,662	2,085	2,085	860	..	199,309	182,065	42,205	..	1869	
1870	145,732	102,668	248,400	..	2,721	1,931	1,931	3,641	..	112,211	115,941	145,449	783,435	1870	
1871	156,481	110,555	266,986	..	2,703	1,851	1,851	3,577	..	76,766	88,419	37,256	997,477	1871	
1872	162,404	117,156	279,560	173,459	2,642	1,864	1,864	4,786	57,182	92,642	110,973	123,796	1,140,279	1872	
1873	170,406	125,540	295,946	..	3,194	1,873	1,873	4,973	..	338,576	389,107	183,673	1,226,222	1873	
1874†	194,349	147,511	341,860	..	3,645	2,276	2,276	8,811	..	786,250	980,758	484,541	1,416,933	1874	
1875	213,294	162,662	375,956	199,294	4,161	2,828	2,828	38,106	61,356	648,800	860,471	238,581	1,651,712	1875	
1876	225,580	173,495	399,075	..	5,712	3,209	3,209	25,270	..	318,682	448,697	486,335	1,943,653	1876	
1876	225,580	173,495	399,075	..	4,904	3,196	3,196	11,955	..	497,416	846,931	31,145	2,377,402	1876	

* This information has been correctly ascertained only for the years in which a census of the Colony was taken.

† Including free grants to immigrants, to naval and military settlers, reserves for public purposes, Native reserves, and old land claims; but the larger portion of these grants since the year 1865 have been to Natives, under the provisions of "The Native Lands Act, 1865."

‡ In 1874 the Maori population was estimated at 45,470, making the total population in 1874, 387,430.

Year.	Live Stock.*				Postal.					Shipping.				Year.			
	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Figs.	Letters (Received and Despatched).		Newspapers (Received and Despatched).	Postal Revenue.	Number of Money Orders Issued.		Amount of Money Issued.		Inwards.		Outwards.		
					Number.	Number.			£	£	£	£	Number of Vessels.		Tonnage.	Number of Vessels.	Tonnage.
1853	..	..	..	..	119,039	177,583	..	..	..	..	..	238	65,504	229	62,891	1853
1854	..	..	..	..	138,482	201,381	..	..	..	..	..	293	74,831	293	76,718	1854
1855	..	..	..	..	171,407	238,522	..	..	..	..	..	378	88,614	341	79,825	1855
1856	..	..	..	..	196,760	271,254	..	..	..	..	..	326	85,748	323	82,991	1856
1857	..	..	..	..	337,721	498,163	..	..	..	..	..	289	78,309	283	76,524	1857
1858	14,912	137,204	1,523,324	40,734	482,856	684,348	6,024	..	..	..	..	339	90,118	322	82,293	1858
1859	..	..	..	..	707,870	839,385	7,812	..	..	..	..	438	136,580	398	120,392	1859
1860	..	..	..	..	890,369	1,029,356	10,068	..	..	..	..	398	140,276	398	140,293	1860
1861	26,275	193,285	2,761,583	43,270	1,236,768	1,428,351	14, 08	..	..	..	..	596	197,986	546	206,350	1861
1862	..	..	..	..	2,122,232	2,064,123	22,710	1,410	6,590	..	..	813	301,355	783	288,647	1862
1863	..	..	..	..	3,403,248	3,397,669	32,329	11,586	55,703	..	..	1,154	419,935	1,094	394,665	1863
1864	49,409	249,760	4,937,273	61,276	4,151,142	4,306,017	39,302	16,591	78,556	..	..	1,117	426,004	1,089	433,253	1864
1865	..	..	..	..	4,443,473	4,206,992	46,475	17,236	78,576	..	..	862	295,625	783	283,020	1865
1866	..	..	..	..	4,758,644	4,373,039	49,598	22,710	108,779	..	..	1,019	330,303	986	306,979	1866
1867	65,715	312,835	8,418,579	115,104	4,811,240	3,060,888	55,331	24,473	115,619	..	..	944	309,568	950	308,169	1867
1868	..	..	..	..	4,977,199	3,283,615	57,107	25,854	118,211	..	..	851	277,105	872	287,710	1868
1869	..	..	..	..	5,016,595	3,563,147	68,007	28,427	127,218	..	..	764	260,731	771	247,764	1869
1870	..	..	..	..	5,645,879	3,889,662	55,780	31,864	140,454	..	..	756	273,151	766	265,407	1870
1871	81,028	436,592	9,700,629	161,460	6,081,697	4,179,784	70,249	36,291	157,397	..	..	729	274,643	709	265,618	1871
1872	..	..	..	..	6,958,643	4,411,091	94,733	44,660	191,009	..	..	775	300,302	743	286,366	1872
1873	..	..	..	..	7,915,985	5,269,195	94,706	62,351	219,258	..	..	739	289,297	704	281,847	1873
1874	99,261	494,113	11,674,863	123,741	9,058,456	6,306,692	104,371	62,712	263,164	..	..	856	399,296	822	385,533	1874
1875	..	..	..	..	10,427,861	6,811,277	122,496	78,037	298,481	..	..	926	416,727	940	417,820	1875
1876	..	..	..	..	11,770,737	7,962,748	129,263	80,255	310,268	..	..	878	393,180	866	393,334	1876

* This information has been correctly ascertained for the years in which a census of the Colony was taken.

Year.	Exports (the Produce of New Zealand).		Imports.		Revenue.			Electric Telegraph.			Miles of Railway.		Savings Banks.		Convictions.	Year.
	Total Value.	£	Total Value.	£	Ordinary.	Territorial.	Total for Year.	Miles of Line.	Number of Messages.	Cash and Cash Values.	Constructed.	Under Construction.	Number of Depositors.	Balance to credit on 31st Dec.		
1853	303,282	597,827	80,104	66,761	80,104	66,761	146,865	..	..	£	..	..	..	..	13	1853
1854	320,890	891,201	110,690	180,826	110,690	180,826	291,416	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	1854
1855	365,867	813,460	111,234	62,300	111,234	62,300	173,534	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	1855
1856	318,433	710,868	107,801	76,177	107,801	76,177	183,978	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	1856
1857	369,394	992,994	154,383	91,193	154,383	91,193	245,576	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	1857
1858	433,949	1,141,273	179,326	161,799	179,326	161,799	341,125	..	..	..	..	..	715	7,862	62	1858
1859	521,308	1,561,030	208,446	241,882	208,446	241,882	460,328	..	..	..	..	..	802	7,996	70	1859
1860	649,133	1,648,333	233,108	216,760	233,108	216,760	446,868	..	..	..	..	..	1,104	12,460	91	1860
1861	1,339,241	2,493,811	324,146	347,354	324,146	347,354	671,500	..	..	..	..	..	1,144	22,921	100	1861
1862	2,368,020	4,626,082	568,332	606,830	568,332	606,830	1,116,162	..	..	..	..	..	1,496	29,768	145	1862
1863	3,342,891	7,024,674	742,504	524,404	742,504	524,404	1,266,908	..	..	..	..	..	2,371	44,117	234	1863
1864	3,060,634	7,000,665	815,676	714,770	815,676	714,770	1,630,446	..	..	..	..	..	4,669	94,248	262	1864
1865	3,503,421	5,594,977	936,945	500,045	936,945	500,045	1,438,990	..	..	..	..	..	4,304	87,400	332	1865
1866	4,396,100	6,894,863	1,086,293	776,429	1,086,293	776,429	1,862,722	699	48,231	9,114	..	..	4,513	91,863	277	1866
1867	4,479,464	6,344,607	1,226,584	661,730	1,226,584	661,730	1,787,314	714	87,436	14,295	..	..	6,579	156,365	240	1867
1868	4,268,762	4,985,748	1,195,512	426,323	1,195,512	426,323	1,620,335	1,471	134,647	26,224	..	..	8,121	243,615	248	1868
1869	4,090,134	4,976,126	1,026,516	382,070	1,026,516	382,070	1,407,586	1,611	173,746	32,649	..	..	10,103	320,383	277	1869
1870	4,644,682	4,639,015	960,368	327,589	960,368	327,589	1,287,567	1,887	238,195	27,422	..	..	12,137	386,304	231	1870
1871	5,171,104	4,078,193	921,672	377,699	921,672	377,699	1,299,371	2,015	369,085	37,203	..	..	14,275	454,966	180	1871
1872	5,107,186	5,142,981	1,065,942	618,772	1,065,942	618,772	1,624,714	2,312	491,205	44,669	..	..	17,289	597,002	190	1872
1873	5,477,970	6,464,667	1,487,393	1,265,788	1,487,393	1,265,788	2,763,181	2,369	637,941	56,196	145	434	21,807	812,144	189	1873
1874	5,152,143	8,121,812	1,873,448	1,150,900	1,873,448	1,150,900	3,024,348	2,632	844,301	62,322	209	621	27,216	943,763	194	1874
1875	5,475,844	8,029,172	2,047,234	688,722	2,047,234	688,722	2,735,956	3,156	993,322	74,420	542	464	30,310	857,326	257	1875
1876	6,486,901	6,906,171	2,391,844	1,149,622	2,391,844	1,149,622	3,640,966	3,170	1,100,699	80,841	718	427	32,677	906,146	249	1876

* The convictions to 1870 are only those in the Supreme Court. From 1871 to 1876 inclusive, the convictions in the District Courts are included.

results in the future from this industry. During the five years ended 1876 coal to the value of £1,000,000 was imported into the Colony. The day is approaching when all such imports will be unnecessary, and we may therefore consider that a virtually new and growing industry, commencing with an average value of £200,000, is added by the railways to the resources of the country. Platinum, lead, tin, quicksilver, and bismuth have also been discovered, but not as yet in quantity. There is reason to believe that extensive deposits of the most valuable ore of quicksilver exist. In various parts springs of petroleum oil well to the surface. As yet no flowing wells have been struck, but it is nearly certain they will be. The deposits in America are decreasing, whilst the use of mineral oil is largely increasing. At no distant date it is likely that adequate efforts will be made to tap in quantity the petroleum which there is every reason to suppose exists abundantly in parts of the Colony. Chrome, manganese, and plumbago have been found in quantity. New Zealand is rich in building stone of great variety. Around Oamaru a white, easily-worked stone is obtained, for which there is a large demand in Australia. From White Island, on the east coast, there is reason to suppose sulphur in quantity can be procured.

The timber of New Zealand is of great variety, and some descriptions are very valuable. The results obtained from pastoral pursuits are truly astounding. During the fifteen years ending 1876 no less than £27,719,000 worth of wool was produced in and exported from the Colony. The growth of the industry may be gathered from the fact that the export of the first of these years, 1862, was £674,000, and for the last, 1876, £9,895,000.

It would be hard to exaggerate the agricultural value of a considerable quantity of the land of New Zealand. The history of New Zealand is one continued record of an increase in the value of and demand for land. Of course the quality of the land varies much. Some, such as the land on the plains, has a great depth of soil; some is so rugged and at such an altitude as to be suitable only for sheep, and some is too high even for that purpose. Probably experience has not yet proved what is the greatest use that can be made of the land, especially of much of the land in the North Island. But the results as they stand are sufficient to satisfy the most exacting. I cannot profess to give you of my own knowledge an analysis of the value of the land. Yet, as this is the most important question in relation to the future of the Colony, I feel that my task will be ill-completed if I fail to bring the matter fully before you, but I must do it by the aid of others. I have

obtained permission to read to you portions of a letter, addressed by Mr. Morton, the chairman of two companies owning 850,000 acres of land in New Zealand, to one of the officers of the companies in the Colony, in which he particularly dwells on the value of New Zealand land :—

“ Mr. Ford’s estimate of the value of Acton at £7, as corroborative of our own, is satisfactory. My own conviction is that a much greater rise in the value of good freehold land in New Zealand is certain to take place, and this at a much earlier period than you in the Colony or the public generally have any conception of. In looking into the agricultural returns of Great Britain, with abstract returns for the United Kingdom, British possessions, and foreign countries, for 1876, I find that the average yield of wheat per acre in New Zealand, out of the 90,804 acres under this crop for 1875-6, was 81·5 bushels, while in Victoria, with its 821,401 acres, the average yield for the same year was only 15·5 bushels per acre ; New South Wales, with 188,610 acres, was 14·7 ; South Australia, with 898,820 acres, was 11·8 ; Tasmania, with 42,745 acres, 16·4 ; Natal, with 1,740 acres, was 12·6 ; and Cape of Good Hope, with 188,000 acres, was 8·9. Dominion of Canada, for 1871, the latest date given, the average of the Lake Ontario district is 6·4 ; Quebec, 8·5 ; New Brunswick, 10·8 ; Nova Scotia, 11·8. Then if we turn to the United States, the great competitor, so to speak, for the population of Europe, the average yield of wheat for 1874 (the latest date given) is 12·8 bushels per acre, and the United Kingdom, in which the best of the land only is cultivated for wheat, and this highly cultivated and manured, only yields an average of 27½ bushels per acre. I give you herewith in a tabulated form the returns of cereal crops, so far as given in the Blue-books, not only of the above, but also of the several countries in Europe.”

“ From the tabulated statement (page 188) you will easily see that when it comes to be generally known and understood in the United Kingdom and Europe, as well as in Australia and America, that the returns to an agriculturist are so superior in New Zealand to those in other countries, and this with a climate relatively superior, their attention will naturally, and as a matter of course, be concentrated upon New Zealand. If you only put down the cost of ploughing, seed harrowing, reaping, thrashing, and carting to port, all of which may be said to be nearly the same in the several countries (reaping and thrashing alone excepted in Australia and California, where, I understand, it is done by a special method, with the straw left standing on the field), and deduct these charges

COUNTRIES.	Year.	Acres under crops and grass.	Average Yield per Acre of						Yield of				Cotton.	Sugar.	Vineyards.	Bare fallow.	Grass for Hay.	Permanent Artificial Grass.	Tobacco
			Wheat.	Tuckey and Berr.	Oats.	Maize.	Potatoes.	Rye.		Buck Wheat.									
								Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.							
Great Britain	1875-6	31,544,081	27.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland	"	15,724,954	14.7	20.5	18.7	29.0	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New South Wales	"	1,121,183	15.5	22.2	21.9	15.8	3.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Victoria	"	1,426,631	12.0	14.1	16.7	15.0	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Australia	"	1,444,686	12.0	14.8	16.0	15.0	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Western Australia	"	47,571	12.0	16.8	16.0	15.0	3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tasmania	"	352,534	16.4	27.8	25.4	—	3.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tasmania	"	77,547	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Queensland	"	2,377,402	31.5	35.9	38.0	—	4.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Zealand	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Natal	1875	191,907	10.8	13.2	—	12.1	64.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	197
Cape	"	580,904	8.9	15.4	—	8.5	41.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,631
Canada:	1871	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ontario	"	17,335,918	10.4	—	—	—	98.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Quebec	"	—	8.5	—	—	—	141.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Brunswick	"	—	10.8	—	—	—	137.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nova Scotia	"	—	11.8	—	—	—	105.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Russia	1873	—	5.5	8.0	16.6	—	117.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	In 1871
Sweden	1874	11,549,498	—	—	—	—	123.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98,8.0
Greece	1867	1,338,658	13.2	18.8	19.0	17.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,405
Denmark	1871	5,880,654	23.1	30.3	35.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Norway	1870	9,940,500	23.1	30.3	35.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Norway	1863	11,367,310	16.3	20.1	22.5	24.9	103.4	16.3	15.3	4.468	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13,453
Prussia	1875	3,099,368	18.1	21.2	20.3	26.0	74.1	18.7	15.6	59	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	706
Württemberg	1874	4,092,648	23.4	41.9	44.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,945
Holland	1866	—	20.3	34.9	41.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,183
Belgium	1866	4,857,700	13.4	18.7	23.8	16.4	113.9	13.1	15.3	1,673,738	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36,999
France	1873	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portugal	1866	—	14.9	11.1	18.6	20.4	—	6.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Austria (Proper)	1876	—	12.5	13.5	16.2	21.6	109.4	13.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,198,066
Hungary	1875	26,924,425	8.6	13.6	16.5	13.5	38.1	8.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	113,157
Egypt	1871	—	16.4	20.2	—	18.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,539
United States	1874	4,796,317	12.3	20.6	22.0	20.7	80.9	13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	281,962

from the returns the grain would yield, say, at 5s. per bushel all round at shipping port, you will find the immense advantage in the shape of returns to the agriculturist in New Zealand from any of the Australian Colonies, the Cape, or America. In this I do not deal with Europe, as in the countries where the yield is great the land is not only highly cultivated but heavily manured. Then, when you take into consideration the fact that in all Australia the land may be said, after being cropped, to be left in an unproductive form, and allowed to revert to its natural state, no permanent pasture of an artificial character (*viz.* English grass) is given for Adelaide in 1876, and only 19,280 acres for 1875; for New South Wales none stated; for Victoria, out of 1,126,000 as under crops and grass, only 298,000 acres is given as under artificial grass; for Western Australia and Queensland none given; and for Tasmania (the most favoured for this of all the Australian Colonies), out of 882,000 acres, only 102,000 is given, or under one-third of the whole: whereas in New Zealand, out of 2,877,000 acres, not less than 1,770,000 acres is given as sown out in permanent artificial grass. For Natal and the Cape, none. For Canada none stated, but I have no doubt, both in it and the United States—*viz.* the Atlantic—a relative proportion to New Zealand will also be sown out in English grass; but, on the other hand, they have a six months' winter, when the ground is wholly covered with snow, and when there may be said to be no outside feed for cattle and sheep. So far as I can make out all that can be said of small agriculturists in Canada, the States, or in any of the Australian Colonies, the yield of wheat per acre, or the returns therefrom, will only pay the farmer fair wages for his own labour, or in some cases yield him probably 10s. to 20s. per acre beyond this: whereas in New Zealand, with the climate much more pleasant to work in than any of the others, the farmer, after allowing himself wages at the same rate as in the other Colonies for self, family, and horses—*viz.* manual and horse labour—would have from £4 to £4 15s. per acre net returns, instead of 10s. to 20s., as in the others. Then, after the land is cropped and sown out in English grass, the yield in feed for sheep is four to five times (*viz.* equal to 20s. per acre of yearly wool return) what it was previous to being broken up and laid down in English grass, instead of (in Australia at least) yielding less returns in pasturage than it did in its natural state."

"You will thus easily see how much better it will be for a man to pay £10 per acre—*ay*, even £20 per acre—for good land in New Zealand, than £1 to £2 per acre for fair land in Australia. The

cultivation of 20 acres of good land in Australia (I mean the labour, and ploughing, sowing, harrowing, and reaping, thrashing, carting to port, &c., cannot be put down with safety at under close upon £8 per acre, basing my estimate upon the current rate of manual and horse labour in the several Colonies. The returns from the wheat crop in these Colonies will not yield 5s. per acre over this sum one year with another, whereas the returns from New Zealand will yield £4 in excess of this. As before stated, I am taking the wheat all round at 5s. per bushel at the shipping port in the several Colonies in this statement. From the foregoing it will be seen that the net returns from wheat to the landowner, after paying £8 per acre for the manual and horse labour, is fifteen times more in New Zealand than Australia and for the United States; and for years after the land has been cropped in Australia, it will yield next to nothing, until the natural grass again springs up and gets a sale, when two or three acres must go for each sheep: whereas in New Zealand one acre of good English grass will keep four to five merino sheep, and for three cross breeds, over the year. I daresay, when you have all the foregoing weighed over and thought out, you will conclude with me that at no distant date good agricultural land will be selling at £10 to £15 per acre in New Zealand, according to quality and locality, and A 1 agricultural land at from £20 to £25 per acre."

"In the returns on profit of one acre in New Zealand of wheat against 15 or 20 acres, as the case may be, in Australia or America—viz. the net returns after payment or allowance for labour, seed, &c.—I omitted one very important item of outlay, viz. the fencing of one acre, say in New Zealand, as against from 15 to 20 acres, and the maintaining of said fences. I doubt not you will concur with me in the rapid and permanent increase in value that must necessarily take place on agricultural land in New Zealand, when once the facts as already stated are known and generally recognised."

Another gentleman, a large landowner in the Colony, and enjoying exceptional opportunities of acquiring information, has furnished me with the following memorandum:—

"A great deal of land will yield two grain crops in succession, and after a grass crop eaten on the land yield two more grain crops, and so on, continuing to give two grain crops in succession for one grass crop, without any signs of failure. This can be done upon the best agricultural land in the Middle Island, of which there is a large area."

I leave you to form your own opinion of these statements. This

I can say, I have been in other Colonies, but I never saw anywhere such earth-hunger as prevails in New Zealand amongst all classes of its people.

I give you a statement prepared by Mr. Hayter, the Government statist of the Colony of Victoria, of the average yield per acre of the principal crops during the six years ending 1876, in the Australasian Colonies, excepting Queensland, where complete returns are not made :—

AVERAGE PRODUCE OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES,
1872 TO 1876.

Name of Colony.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	Mean.
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WHEAT: BUSHELS PER ACRE.

Victoria	18.45	16.51	13.58	14.57	15.49	14.72
New South Wales.	14.48	16.32	13.43	12.87	14.66	14.35
South Australia...	5.73	11.50	7.87	11.75	11.95	9.76
Western Australia	—	6.02	13.44	12.00	11.00	10.62
Tasmania	13.39	18.63	16.17	18.51	16.38	16.61
New Zealand	22.52	24.19	25.61	28.15	31.54	26.40

OATS: BUSHELS PER ACRE.

Victoria	18.76	19.55	15.69	18.46	21.92	18.88
New South Wales.	20.36	19.94	18.71	16.31	18.72	18.81
South Australia...	10.85	16.39	10.61	14.61	16.69	13.83
Western Australia	—	13.24	19.22	16.00	15.00	15.87
Tasmania	20.03	25.85	20.98	26.82	25.40	23.82
New Zealand	26.78	27.00	29.81	35.22	39.34	31.63

POTATOES: TONS PER ACRE.

Victoria	3.22	3.45	2.86	3.53	3.37	3.29
New South Wales.	3.03	2.98	2.98	2.83	2.98	2.96
South Australia...	3.48	3.28	3.41	3.72	4.52	3.68
Western Australia	—	2.34	2.67	3.00	3.00	2.75
Tasmania	2.77	3.92	3.16	3.75	3.54	3.43
New Zealand	3.53	4.92	4.46	5.24	4.89	4.61

HAY: TONS PER ACRE.

Victoria	1.40	1.32	1.27	1.32	1.33	1.33
New South Wales.	1.50	1.61	1.54	1.37	1.15	1.43
South Australia...	1.00	1.21	1.02	1.28	1.21	1.14
Western Australia	—	1.51	2.00	1.50	1.00	1.50
Tasmania .....	.98	1.39	1.08	1.35	1.42	1.24
New Zealand	1.16	1.25	1.43	.84	1.46	1.23

A more complete Colonial return, but only for two years, I borrow from Mr. Giffen's valuable Report to the Board of Trade:—

STATEMENT OF THE ESTIMATED AVERAGE YIELD PER STATUTE ACRE OF THE PRINCIPAL CORN CROPS, AND OF POTATOES, IN VARIOUS BRITISH COLONIES.

COLONIES.	YEARS (ended 31st March in some Colonies).	WHEAT.	BARLEY.	OATS.	MAIZE.	POTATOES
		Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Tons.
New South Wales ...	1874-75	12.9	17.3	16.3	30.5	2.8
	1875-76	14.7	20.5	18.7	29.0	3.0
Victoria	1874-75	14.6	21.0	18.5	15.9	3.5
	1875-76	15.5	22.2	21.9	15.8	3.4
South Australia	1874-75	11.7	15.2	14.7	—	3.7
	1875-76	12.0	14.1	16.7	—	4.5
Western Australia	1874-75	12.0	16.0	16.0	15.0	3.0
	1874-75	18.5	24.5	26.8	—	3.7
Tasmania	1875-76	16.4	27.8	25.4	—	3.5
	1874-75	28.2	29.4	35.2	—	5.2
New Zealand	1875-76	31.5	35.9	38.0	—	4.9
						Bushels
Natal	1874	12.6	8.0	—	12.7	24.1
	1875	10.8	13.2	—	12.1	64.4
Cape of Good Hope...	1865	6.9	8.9	—	6.5	—
	1875	8.9	15.4	—	8.5	41.2
Dominion of Canada:						
Ontario.....	1871	10.4				98.1
Quebec.....	"	8.5	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	141.0
New Brunswick	"	10.8				137.6
Nova Scotia.....	"	11.8				105.7

From the same source I give you the average returns from foreign countries. Mr. Giffen does not state the average for the United Kingdom:—

STATEMENT OF THE ESTIMATED AVERAGE YIELD, PER STATUTE ACRE, OF THE PRINCIPAL CORN CROPS AND OF POTATOES, IN IMPERIAL BUSHELS, IN VARIOUS FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

COUNTRIES.	Date of Returns.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans and Peas.	Maize.	Potatoes.
		Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.
Russia	1872	5.5	8.0	16.6	8.2	—	—	117.0
Sweden	1874	—	—	—	—	—	—	123.7
Norway	1870	22.1	30.3	35.7	25.9	20.5*	—	—
Bavaria	1863	16.3	20.1	22.5	16.3	15.3	24.9	103.4
Wurtemberg.....	1875	18.1	21.2	29.3	18.7	15.6	26.0	74.1
Holland	1874	28.4	41.9	44.4	20.9	21.8	—	172.8
Belgium.....	1866	20.3	34.9	41.2	24.6	23.2	—	—
France	1873	13.4†	18.7	23.8	12.1	15.3	16.4	113.9
Portugal	1865	8.9	11.1	18.6	6.7	—	20.0	—
Austria (Proper).....	1875	12.5	13.5	16.2	13.2	—	21.6	109.4
Hungary	1873	8.6	13.6	16.5	8.3	8.4	13.5	38.1
Greece	1867	13.2	18.8	19.0	—	—	17.4	—
Egypt	1871	15.4	20.2	—	—	14.2	18.3	—
United States	1874	12.3	20.6	22.0	13.4	—	20.7	80.9

* Peas only.

† Wheat and Spelt.

You will not be surprised to learn that to make such land accessible, has first and last been the primary public object of the colonists. The construction of ordinary roads was naturally the first means adopted for opening up communication. It early dawned upon the people that metalled roads, costing a great deal for annual repair, and affording only slow transit, were deficient in economy as compared with light and cheaply-constructed railways. It was not, however, until 1870, that any comprehensive and large scheme for the construction of railways was adopted. At that time the colonists were compelled to seriously examine their position. The mother-country had withdrawn all her troops and left the colonists, owning but a mere fringe of settlement round the North Island, to keep in check the natives, with whom over a series of years there had been more or less constant fighting. It became evident that the most ordinary precaution for the safety of the colonists demanded a large increase of white population, the opening of roads into the interior of the North Island, and the means to employ the natives on peaceful instead of warlike pursuits. Equally, the growing value of the agricultural and pastoral pursuits of the people of the South Island made it evident that light railways would prove of the greatest benefit to them. And so what is known as the Immigration and Public Works policy grew into life. It was resolved to borrow money to make roads in the North Island to make railways in both islands, and to introduce immigrants. It was argued that so long as with the increase of the land opened to settlement there was a concurrent increase of population to occupy and work it, there could not be a mistake. No doubt it was a bold policy: it was a policy virtually forced on the Colony by the abandonment of the mother-country of the duties it had contracted by the Treaty of Waitangi. That the remedy of the colonists was in opening up the land and increasing the population, was recognised by the Government of this country, for after great reluctance they passed through Parliament a Bill authorising an Imperial guarantee to be given to a million sterling of Colonial debentures. All doubts as to the soundness of the policy are at rest. Already it has been found necessary to make the railways fifty per cent. more substantial than was at first contemplated. The value of private property in the country has much more than doubled. The value of the public estate has equally advanced. Till lately land was to be bought from five shillings an acre to £2. At the session of Parliament just concluded, an Act was passed by which henceforth, wherever land is open to selection the price shall not be less than £2, nor where it is put up to auction shall the upset price be less

than £1. Excepting Canterbury, where the price has always been £2 an acre, this means a very large increase, in my opinion an increase more than equal to the whole cost of the railways, roads, and immigration. Before the present year expires, 1,000 miles of railway will be opened in the Colony, and this has nearly all been constructed since 1870. There have been besides 2,800 miles of roads made, chiefly through native districts; nearly 90,000 immigrants have been introduced; 8,260 miles have been added to the telegraph lines, and native lands to the value of about three-quarters of a million have been purchased. It scarcely need be said that the policy which led to these results was fiercely canvassed, and by many bitterly opposed.

But if there were opponents there were also friends. The opposition of the one was more than counterpoised by the enthusiasm of the other. There were men whose lifelong dream it had been to see such a policy worked out, and they aided it with might and main. The bitterest opponents have lived to recognise the value of the work. There is no one now, I think, who questions that the Colony was wise, and is wise, in constructing railways and acquiring population. There may be differences of opinion as to the routes, and as to the ports which should claim the first attention, but not as to the value of the railways themselves, and to the capability of the Colony to support them. The colonists are, in short, determined to open up the country, and to make it the home of many times its present population. There are many and warm differences of opinion on various subjects, but as to this one there is unanimity of feeling.

The Colonial Treasurer stated last session "that up to the end of June, 1877, the gross public debt of the Colony, general and provincial, including treasury bills, when the balances of all loans now authorised are raised, will be £20,895,811. As against this debt, we had a balance of £980,189 13s. 1d. at credit of the Public Works Account on 30th June, £85,416 18s. 9d. at credit of the Defence Loan Account, and accrued Sinking Funds amounting to £1,358,562 2s. 10d." He went on to say: "It may, perhaps, be interesting to state the purposes for which the several loans, general and provincial, which constitute our national debt have been raised, and the amount applied to each. I have ascertained, by an examination of the several Loan Acts, that those purposes and amounts may be classified thus: About £8,800,000 has been spent upon railways, £3,500,000 on immigration, £4,400,000 on harbours, lighthouses, public buildings, roads, bridges, and other public works for opening up the country;

£1,800,000 in the purchase of native lands, including the payment of the debt to the New Zealand Company; £2,000,000 in the suppression of the native outbreak, and the remaining £500,000 on miscellaneous purposes." This estimate only charges to the native outbreak the exact amount for war purposes. A large amount from the other items might be set down as expenditure directly necessitated by the former relations between the two races.

The Colonial Treasurer who subsequently succeeded to office did not impugn these figures, though he differed somewhat with his predecessor as to the mode of dealing with the finance. He considered that the floating debt should be added to the permanent debt, and that the revenue should be augmented by further taxation if necessary. In the meantime, he added to it by colonialisng the land fund. That is to say, he added the land fund, which was hitherto specially set apart for different purposes, to the consolidated revenue, less 20 per cent. to be paid over to local bodies. The consolidated revenue will be increased by this operation, not of course to the full extent of the amount added, as some of the charges on the land fund will devolve on the consolidated revenue, but nevertheless the last-named revenue will be considerably increased. To compare the public debt of New Zealand with the public debt of a country from which the cost of railways, harbours, roads, and bridges is excluded, is absolutely unfair. If to the public debt of this country the cost of works analogous to those on which the public debt of New Zealand has been expended be added, the result will be, on the average burden per head of population, or indeed on any other basis, largely in favour of the Colony. I say any other basis, because in my opinion the basis of the burden per head of population is a most deceptive and fallacious one.

This subject is one to which I have given a great deal of attention, and I will ask your permission to read some remarks upon it which I made in 1878 :—

"So much has been said of the amount of our debt and the manner in which it presses upon population, that I shall ask the House to allow me to make some observations upon the subject.

"There are four ways of estimating a nation's indebtedness, namely :—(1) Estimating the gross amount of indebtedness. (2) The gross annual interest. (3) The amount of interest payable per head of population. (4) The percentage or proportion which the annual interest bears to the gross income of the population. The first is the system commonly adopted in England; but it

leaves out the important elements of the annual charge upon the population and of the means of the population to meet that charge. It also leaves out the rate of interest. It may be better to have a nominal debt of larger amount, if the annual burden is smaller on account of the lower rate of interest. The second is the mode commonly adopted on the Continent. It gives a more accurate idea of the nature of a country's burdens; but still it leaves out of the question the amount of the population, and the means of the population, upon which the taxation falls. The third mode gives a nearer insight into the incidence of the burden which a debt devolves upon a people; but still it is wanting in the great element of the means of a people to bear such burden. The fourth mode remedies this, for it strikes at the very root of the matter. It shows not only the annual indebtedness, but the proportion which that annual indebtedness bears to the means of the people to meet

"In the observations I am making I am very much indebted to the '*Manual on National Debts*,' published by Mr. Dudley Baxter. I quote his words upon the subject:—

"'The only correct method of comparing the burdens on different nations is by a comparison of the percentages of their incomes. Although the estimates of income may be approximations rather than accurate calculations, they afford on the whole a truer estimate of the burden of debts and taxation, than calculations founded on population in which considerations of relative income are entirely left out.'"

Mr. Baxter estimated that the annual income of the people in the United Kingdom in 1867 was 800 millions. It is now estimated to be 1,200 millions sterling, showing an increase of 50 per cent. The average income per head of population in 1867 was about £25; it is now £36, or rather, perhaps I should say, that is the computation supposing, which is unfortunately not the case, that the working classes are receiving an average amount of employment. However, let us suppose the average earnings last year to be £36. The average burden of the public debt was at the same time about 16s. 6d., which gives us 2·8 as the percentage which the annual burden of the debt per head bears to the annual earnings. Careful calculations made by a Royal Commission in the Colony showed that the average earnings of the people of New Zealand in 1865 was £78 per head. I have no means of making a fresh calculation for the present period, but certainly it is not too much to consider that the increase has been 50 per cent. Indeed, this increase is moderate when one considers the rise in the value of the property, and the results from accumulated profits. We have thus an annual income

head of £117. The burden of the debt on the 30th June last per was £2 6s. per head of population, exclusive of the Maoris, which gives 2 as the percentage the debt bears to the earnings, as against 2·8 in the United Kingdom. But in the latter case the debt does not represent railways, roads, harbour works, docks, schools, asylums, prisons, &c. To make the comparison they should be added, and they amount to more than the whole national debt, so that, for the purposes of comparison, the percentage of burden has to be doubled. The railways in this country, being longer established, are, it is true, a little more remunerative, but against this we may place the burden of pauperism, which, capitalised, amounts to more than a fourth of the national debt. When, too, it is considered that in the Colony wealth is much more evenly distributed, whilst here there are immense numbers of paupers and a few enormously rich men, who equally, for the purpose of considering the average power of the population to bear taxation, might be eliminated from consideration, we may understand how light the average burdens of the Colony are to its population as compared with those of the United Kingdom. Again, it has to be remembered that in the United Kingdom there is not the land revenue which comes to the relief of the Colonial burdens. Rents, too, and what may be called household taxes, are greatly in excess here of what they are in the Colony. These estimates may appear to you exaggerated, but in reality they are not, and they represent and explain the vast advantage which the working and middle classes in the Colony have over the same classes in this country in regard to their present comforts and future prospects.

As to the ability of the people of New Zealand to meet their loan liabilities, it is utterly absurd to question it. It may be desirable or necessary to increase the taxation; for obvious reasons this is a political question on which I express no opinion. But I may say, that beyond all doubt the people can bear whatever extra burdens it may be necessary to impose on them. If any tax in this country were abolished and the revenue showed a deficiency to the extent of the tax, and the expenditure required the tax to be made good, all that could be said would be that the taxpayers had saved paying the tax, but owed the money. If the taxation in New Zealand is not sufficient, it will have to be made so. There has been no material increase of taxation since 1870. At a moderate estimate the people are twice as wealthy, in my opinion many times more wealthy. They can afford to pay five shillings where they paid one before. I know that the inclination to pay taxes does

not increase with the ability to do so, and fortunately this is the case, for the greatest check on public extravagance is the indisposition of the people to be taxed. I am far from saying that extra taxation will be needed, but if it is, the people of New Zealand could better afford to double their present revenue than to contribute that they were called on to find before 1870. It must be borne in mind, that during the construction of the railways interest was paid on the cost before returns were received. The net receipts from railways promise to become very large. Then as to the land fund. The history of that up to the present time is briefly this. To the 30th June, 1877, 8,880,000 acres were sold for a sum amounting to £8,880,000, and for scrip to the value of £200,000. Besides this, 89,000 acres were given for public works, to the value of £87,000. In addition, 450,000 acres were given to immigrants, 186,000 to naval and military settlers, and 890,000 acres put apart for reserves. Exclusive of native and confiscated lands, there remain nearly 82,000,000 of unsold Crown lands. Of the £8,880,000 which has been received in cash for land since the commencement of the Colony to the 30th June, 1877, no less than £1,089,000 were received during the year 1876, equal to £400,000 more than the average of the last seven years.

It is noticeable, that though there has always been free selection in Canterbury, and the best land of course taken, the revenue last year was larger than any year previously. Although the selector has to go further back, he buys with more eagerness.

In the province of Otago the leases of the sheep farms fall in during the next four or five years, and immense quantities of land will be open for sale and lease. In the North Island vast tracts acquired from the natives will be open to purchase, and I cannot consider but that there will be a great increase in the land revenue. The large demands made by New Zealand have naturally somewhat advanced the rate at which it is able to borrow. It pays the extra price because it gains more by doing so than by suspending the works which bring wealth to the country and its people. The lenders may congratulate themselves on getting this extra rate. The security afforded by the value of the public estate and public works and railways, and by the ability of the people to contribute whatever is required of them, make, in my opinion, New Zealand debentures as safe as Consols, and immeasurably more safe than the investments made in countries where British laws and institutions do not prevail. I read the other day of an occurrence which I hope is true, for it is too good to be otherwise. A person presented himself at a fancy dress ball in an

attire so scanty, or perhaps I should say a want of attire so conspicuous, that the servants denied him admission. "But this is a fancy dress ball," he said. "Yes, sir; it is a fancy dress ball," with a marked emphasis on the word dress. "But the guests are to appear in character," he persisted. "Yes, sir; and what character can you represent as you are?" "The character," he replied, "of a foreign bondholder stripped of everything." You may realise the difference when I say that the New Zealand bondholder who dressed for the character should appear in fine wool, with the emblems of every useful metal, of coal, and of manufactures abundantly worked in gold embroidery, and with a cornucopia as a head-dress.

On the subject of education I will briefly say that it has been the pride of the several provinces to provide the most abundant means for the education of children. The Colony has not overlooked the necessity of continuing this good work, and in the session just over the educational provisions of the several provinces have been consolidated into one comprehensive system of education, the leading features of which may be summed up in the well-known terms, free, secular, and compulsory. There are small fees charged, but the general burden is defrayed from the revenue and from the proceeds of valuable endowments. It may be said in general terms that the State provides a secular education, and that it insists that every child shall be educated. It may, moreover, be added that the public schools are not confined to elementary ones, and that children showing special aptitude for learning may, however poor their parents, acquire a finished education in advanced schools. The ranks of the civil service, too, are recruited from those who show their aptitude by passing special examinations.

From 1871 to 1876 the Colony assisted with passages 78,475 immigrants. Besides the cost of passages there were great expenses in connection with receiving and housing the immigrants on arrival. As a certain, and I may say large amount of responsibility is recognised to belong to the Government to see that assisted immigrants obtain employment, you may readily conceive that the utmost efforts have been made to chose suitable immigrants. You may realise that out of so large a number some have not proved suitable and some have not been fortunate, and you may also recognise that whilst those who are successful say nothing, a great deal of commotion may be made by comparatively a few who are not so fortunate. Hence during the winter months sometimes complaints have been heard, and letters embodying them have

found their way to papers in this country. In consequence of productions of the kind which appeared a few months since I telegraphed for explanation to the Colony, and received in reply the following communication :—

“Unemployed. Wherever meetings held, Government offered work, thirty shillings week. Very few accepted.—GREY.”

It may safely be said that the bulk of the immigrants have been greatly successful. But it would be a mistake to suppose that New Zealand is a fairy land. As in other countries, some people are unfortunate without having themselves to blame, whilst there are some who, not being able or willing to work, are prone to attribute to the country the fault which belongs to themselves. Comprising as the Colony does a great many settlements, there is constantly a liability to an undue congregation in some parts and a reverse in others. With respect to artisan labour, there is also a special risk of temporary excessive supply in some districts and want of supply in others. No one should go to the Colony who does not take with him a determination to endure, if need be, some hardship. The primary business of the Colony is to obtain the products of the land, whether agricultural, pastoral, or mineral. All other occupations are subsidiary, and their success depends on the plentifulness which the land yields. Professional men, men who can only give clerical labour, and artisans, must depend on those who earn from the land the means of paying them; hence they should be very cautious of going to the Colony without receiving direct encouragement to do so. Persons who possess capital and agricultural knowledge may depend on procuring land, and if their knowledge is adequate they should have no difficulty in being successful, provided they are able to exercise frugality and self-denial. Women suited for domestic service are always in demand, and probably will continue to be so for a long period. They soon marry, and so leave again the gap in the ranks of servants which they only for a time stopped. Ordinary labourers are wanted. It will of course be understood that as the supply varies there may be variations in the remuneration offered, but remuneration is largely in excess of the wages in this country, whilst bread and meat are much cheaper.

Those who are well acquainted with agriculture, and who aspire to positions beyond those of ordinary labourers, but are unable to take with them capital, must remember, that though they take to the Colony most useful knowledge, they cannot look for immediate employment equal to their merits. A farmer or capitalist may continually want labour, but may not at a moment's notice be

prepared to make such alterations in his arrangements as would be involved in the employment of overseers or persons of an analogous rank. Hence the agriculturist without capital or means must not consider that he is at all assured of at once realising his aspirations for a superior position. Men with large families should understand that their risks are increased: not only have they more mouths to feed, but they are more liable to the effects of illness or accidental misfortune. With such a disposition to meet with patience any difficulties that might arise as would have to be exercised in this country, there cannot, I think, be a doubt that the general prospects of the working classes, and of men with capital, are infinitely brighter in New Zealand than in this country. Here there is an excess of population, the possession of capital from £250 to £5,000 is a source of embarrassment, and men of means and position are unable to decide what to do with their sons growing to manhood. There, there is a land of infinite capacity, greatly deficient in population, and offering large rewards to suitable colonists who have the courage not to be deterred by slight obstacles, and who do not expect too much. Immigrants, it should be observed, require some amount of self-reliance. The landing amongst strangers, in a strange place, is depressing, and those who expect too much may be disappointed. There are some people, too, so constituted as never to be contented. The more they prosper the less satisfied are they with their progress. I have met many such people. With these reservations the Colony offers great inducements to emigrants. Let me, however, say that nothing can be more unwise than to send out vicious youths in the hope that they will improve. The temptations to, and facilities for, indulging in vice are as great in the Colony as elsewhere, and, removed from the supervision of their friends, such youths are nearly sure to turn out badly.

In confirmation of what I have said, I may quote the following passage from a despatch which I received only yesterday from the Minister for Immigration: "As regards future operations, I had hoped by this mail to have supplied you with full particulars as to the probable number and quality of immigrants required during the current year. So soon as I am furnished with returns ordered to be sent in by the Immigration Officers throughout the Colony, I shall be able to do so. In the meantime I would state that we can scarcely have too many people, provided they are of the right stamp—agricultural able-bodied labourers, dairy-women, and domestic servants. The power of the Colony to absorb such with

advantage may be said to be unlimited. Another class to whom the Colony presents great advantages are practical farmers, with small or large means. The construction of railways now in progress and in contemplation, opens up for agricultural settlement an extensive territory which has hitherto been unavailable, and upon which thousands of industrious families may acquire independence, and surround themselves with comfort. I venture to say that New Zealand never presented greater attractions to genuine colonists than at the present time."

The land system of the Colony is a subject upon which there is a great deal of inquiry. It is the more necessary to touch upon this, because of important alterations which have been made by an Act passed during the late session. Chief amongst the changes, though it pertains rather to the financial than the land system, is the provision which has been made by Act by which henceforth the Land Revenue, less twenty per cent. for local purposes, becomes part of the general, or, as it is called, the consolidated revenue of the Colony. Previously the land fund was virtually provincial revenue, and on the abolition of the provinces it was contemplated to still put it apart for special purposes. But it has now been made Colonial revenue. It is not for me to express an opinion as to the policy or fairness of the measure. But I may say that one of its obvious effects will be to somewhat remove the inequalities of expenditure in various parts of the Colony.

Of great importance both to the land system and the finances of the Colony is another measure passed last session, by which the upset price of land has been raised to not less than £2 per acre if open to free selection, and to not less than £1 per acre if submitted to auction. In Canterbury the upset price at which anyone might select land has always been £2 per acre, but in other provinces the upset price of rural land, whether for free selection or by auction, has varied from 2s. 6d. to £1, unless in cases of special value. The increase now made is very material. It is as it were the crown of the public works and immigration policy. I have already referred to its money value. The change, too, probably means an approach to a uniform land system throughout the Colony. At present each provincial district has a distinct land system; indeed in Otago there are two systems, one belonging to the old province of Southland. The working of the Act will not have much interest for you, but very many persons here will be interested to know that provision has been made for putting up to auction licenses to use pastoral country after the present leases

or licenses expire. A great many runs (as large sheep-farms are called) will be put up to auction in this way during the next five or six years in the province of Otago.

An important new provision is that pastoral lands may be sold on deferred payments in blocks of not less than 500 acres, nor more than 5,000 acres. Such blocks must be put apart for the purpose by the Governor. They must be offered at auction at an upset price of not less than £1 per acre, and the payment has to be made by thirty equal half-yearly payments. No person is allowed to purchase on deferred payment more than one allotment, and one of the conditions is that within twelve months he shall reside on the land, and continue to reside on it for five years, except during intervals of leave, not exceeding three months in the year, permitted by the Crown Lands' Board.

There are also provisions for selling rural or agricultural land on deferred payments. No one is allowed to purchase more than 820 acres, and the price is divided into twenty half-yearly payments. If the land purchased is open to selection, to the ordinary cash price, 50 per cent. is added to cover the interest on the deferred payments. If the land is sold by auction, the price is the amount bid. In either case the payment is divided into twenty equal half-yearly payments.

The purchase of rural land by deferred payments is subject to strict conditions as to cultivation and residence, which it would take too much space to minutely describe. I may, however, say that the purchaser must within six months of the purchase commence to reside on the land, and continue to do so for six years. There are some exceptions, but I need not trouble you with them. The cultivation has to be gradual. Surely it is fair for the State when it gives such easy terms of payment to exact conditions, which after all are really calculated to benefit the *bonâ fide* farmer. In the Auckland provincial district, land may be put apart by the Governor, under what is known as the homestead system. Under this system the settlers may obtain a limited quantity of land without any payment whatever. The conditions of ultimate acquirement of the property are, residence for five years and cultivation. Each person is allowed under this system not more than 50 acres of first-class land, nor more than 75 acres of second-class land, provided that no family may in the aggregate have more than 200 acres of first-class, nor more than 800 acres of second-class land.

I cannot pretend to give you even a *précis* of the different systems in the various provinces of disposing of land for cash payments. Suffice it that in some parts there is free selection, in

others a mixture of free selection and auction, and in others again an approach to an auction system only.

I have given you, as much as my limits will permit and my ability allow, an idea of New Zealand. I feel that I have done inadequate justice to its great capabilities, that I have insufficiently described all that convinces me there is "no land on earth" that has before it a fairer promise. With a superb climate and every other natural advantage in its favour, it has been carefully peopled by those who can best serve it, and who must become the founders of a hardy, enterprising, and able branch of the British race. No marvel is it to me that they who have lived in New Zealand learn to love it, for I share that feeling. To describe it is to me a labour of love. It seems to me a land that, in the words of Byron—

"Must ever be
The master mould of Nature's heavenly hand,
Wherein are cast the heroic and the free,
The beautiful, the brave—the lords of earth and sea."

And now I will say a few words of the South Sea Islands. New Zealand must be in the future to these Islands the central guiding figure. No adequate idea of New Zealand's future can be formed that excludes from view the teeming Islands of the Pacific that must look to her as their trading centre. The winds and the waves which make communication between the Islands and Australia a work of difficulty, make communication between them and New Zealand a matter of ease. It was a wise step of the British Government to take possession of Fiji. Wiser still would it be to take possession of the Samoa and New Hebrides groups. Chief amongst the present exports of the Islands is copra, as dried cocoa-nut is called. An unlimited demand exists for it in Germany, and there it finds its chief market. It is brought home in a dried form, but I am glad to learn that at Auckland in New Zealand a factory has just been established to obtain from the copra its useful products. From Fiji the export of copra increased from £5,000 in 1873 to £41,000 in 1876. The total imports to Fiji in 1876 were £112,000, the exports £107,000. The latest returns I have of Samoa, 1875, show during that year total export of £227,000, and an import trade of £241,000. Of the exports £101,000 was in copra. The imports included £20,000 in specie, and £20,000 worth of guano for re-export.

There can be no doubt of the capabilities of the Islands. They yield many valuable indigenous products, and they are suitable

for the production of coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, arrowroot, indiarubber, maize, and various kinds of drugs.

Her Majesty's present Government have cast loving eyes towards them, and have proceeded probably in the path of annexation as far as the state of public opinion has permitted. By an ingenious Act of Parliament passed three years ago, they have obtained the right to exercise considerable power in the Islands not annexed. Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji, exercises under the Act the functions of High Commissioner. Too little time has elapsed to fairly test the Act, but it must at least be conceded that during the last few years, Her Majesty's Government have done a great deal to improve the condition of the Islands. Not too soon was action taken. The Islands were becoming the Alsatia of the two hemispheres, and a disgusting traffic in human labour was being set up. Sir Arthur Gordon seems to be doing his work well, with not much means placed at his disposal. He has shown great vigour in repressing revolt, and industry in developing the capabilities of the natives to submit themselves to organised government. In the measure he has taken for raising taxes in produce, he recognises the value to which I have already alluded of civilising the natives by encouraging them to work. He has, I fancy, not been unmindful of the Java system. I know it is the fashion to condemn that system as one of slavery. But there is a wide difference between the State insisting on work as a necessary condition of the well-being of a semi-savage race, and allowing individuals to traffic in human labour. I have met several men who have made themselves acquainted with the Java system, and whilst not entirely approving it they have all seen much to admire in it. Practically it has been successful in its results to the natives and Europeans. Sir Arthur Gordon is, I believe, not popular with the Europeans. I doubt if any Governor who did justice to the native race in a country in Fiji's present position would be popular with the white man. I speak with reservation, as I am only imperfectly acquainted with Sir Arthur Gordon's conduct. I convey the impression left in my mind by so much as I know of it. The French, Germans, and Americans have very large interests in the Southern Seas. It is to be hoped they will not some day clash with those of England. If they do not, luck rather than good management will have to be thanked, for certainly no zeal was shown to protect English interests till public scandal made it necessary to do so. It is a deplorable pity that New Caledonia was suffered to become a French penal settlement. From a statement lately made it appears that Sir George Grey urged on the

English Government to annex New Caledonia before the French entertained the idea of doing so.

I proposed when I commenced to connect my subject, New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, with that larger subject, the Consolidation of the Empire. The lengthened demand I have made on your attention leads me to fear to ask your larger indulgence; at any rate, I will be brief. Almost every salient matter to which I have referred seems to me to instigate considerations of vast interest to other parts of the Empire than that small portion with which we have had to deal. The various routes to New Zealand remind us how much one country is dependent on other countries, and, from a national point of view, suggests how important it is to keep open a chain of communication from one end of the world to the other, at every stopping-place of which the interests of Great Britain should be paramount. The facts which I have told you about the lands of New Zealand, and about what has been done by the Colony in the way of promoting immigration, together with your own knowledge of the land, and immigration policies of other Colonies, must suggest to you how unmindful of the interests of the parent country itself were those who left to the hazard of the decision of a few thousand colonists the dealing with questions of vast moment to the whole people. There is no want in Great Britain more felt than that of a career for youths growing to manhood. The openings for those who are inclined to sedentary pursuits are few, and fewer still are the openings for those who love the freedom of healthy, active, outdoor pursuits. When territories worth countless millions of money were relinquished with no conditions imposing on the Colonies the necessity of throwing open those lands to the use of settlers, and no obligation to expend part of the proceeds in assisting the hard-worked labourers of this country to emigrate, a great wrong was committed to those whose property was so rashly relinquished. It is no justification of such relinquishment to say—if it can be said of all the Colonies—that the extreme power given has been worthily used. Upon that worthy use, of course, the parent country is now dependent, for what is given cannot be taken back. Shakespeare, when he wrote *King Lear*, might, perhaps, have had in mind a possible parable of a Mother-country and her Colonies.

The active vigour which constitutional government has undoubtedly imported to the British dependencies enjoying it, must arouse the consideration of the question, Can nothing be done to constitutionalise the government of India? The share which a native race may be induced to take in the government also suggests

that the native races of India might with advantage be more drawn within the general scheme of government of the country. Every question relating to native races is of interest. When we see what labour and the acquisition of wealth will do for a native race, we may ask ourselves, Is the system healthy which practically requires that tropical productions should be rendered to the use of the denizens of temperate climes at rates which entail the necessity of labour being supplied at the bare cost of food sufficient to keep body and soul together? Civilised man has abolished slavery, but he continues to exact labour for less than the comforts which even the slavery system supplied.

The colonists in South Africa are living over again that which has passed in New Zealand, and, it may be, sufficient heed is not paid to the teaching of experience. There is, again, the same difficulty between Imperial representative and Colonial government, arising out of the relative positions of Imperial and Colonial forces. Whilst in the House of Commons, the Minister insists on Colonial responsibility, the Governor in the Colony refuses to call together the local parliament, and dismisses the Ministry possessing the confidence of the majority in that parliament. Has, I would ask, advantage been taken of the experience which shows that to use with benefit the successes gained by force of arms, railways and roads must be constructed, the natives induced to labour, and taught to understand the value that labour, capital, and communication will give to their lands?

Above all, the lesson may be learnt that a country may be stimulated artificially, if you like to call it so, by the introduction simultaneously of labour and capital, and that this may be done to an almost indefinite extent. The popular refrain of the day runs to the effect that we can fight because—

“ We’ve got the ships, we’ve got the men,
We’ve got the money too.”

Would that it were generally recognised that we can colonise because we have these great resources. New Zealand, in believing that it could do in ten years what in ordinary course might take more than a quarter of a century, only utilised the results of observation. Experience shows that all the ramifications of a useful community will grow out of population hastily summoned to a locality if labour and capital be present at the same time. Immense populations rushed to California and to Victoria in search of gold; they remained to develop into useful communities. Diamonds did the same office in South Africa; oil in parts of

America. Given people, work to employ them, and capital to aid labour, and you have the elements of a successful community. If, instead of a precarious search for gold or diamonds, you have the certain rewards yielded by fertile land, so much the easier is the working of the problem. It is of the greatest importance to recognise the fields for enterprise the Colonies offer, for they may be the substitute for those countries, the excessive desire to serve which has not, in my opinion, been beneficial to this country. The loss of the money wasted abroad would, in some cases, probably be a less evil from a British point of view than that of the results of the expenditure. I do not wish to enter on political ground, but I presume no one will deny that this country, if it is not involved in war with Russia, has been very near that contingency. I presume, also, it cannot be questioned that the result of the late war will in any case devolve on this country the necessity in future of a larger annual naval expenditure—a very much larger one, probably. Now, is there anyone who would deny that but for the money lent to Russia by British capitalists, and the military railways constructed by British capital, that war would not have taken place, at any rate, for a long time? It is British gold that has armed the Continent, that has made railways, that has facilitated wars, that has done a great deal which is now reducing the prosperity and power of this country relatively to others. Of course I may be told that in making foreign countries prosperous we enable them to become better customers; in the same way the man who was told to pay his debts asked where he should borrow the money to do so. Not only has British gold made foreign countries formidable to Great Britain, but the interests of the British creditors of foreign countries is calculated to injuriously influence the foreign policy of this country. The Egyptian and Turkish debts underlie the chief difficulties we now have in dealing with the Eastern question. Without laying down the doctrine that the country should enforce payment of such debts, it is impossible to leave out of all consideration acts of repudiation, or events or action which might lead to repudiation. Besides, man is only human, and given a man whose family depends on his investments in Turks or Russians, is it possible his patriotism can rise altogether superior to his anxiety for the welfare of the States which owe him all he has to live on? Really, if there were an income-tax of five shillings in the pound on investments in foreign loans and railways, the burden would only represent the loss to the country in various ways arising out of this employment of British

capital. If we spend two hundred millions in a war with Russia, and this war is precipitated by our liberal loans to that Power, I should like to know if the investment shows a balance of profit. In fact, the investors gain, the nation loses. Better that capital should remain idle than that it should be viciously spent.

There is, of course, a wide distinction between mere trading investments and those which have for their results, if not for their object, the giving facility to a country to organise its forces and move its armies. This is assistance from an absurd point of view, for it benefits the few whilst it throws a serious liability on the taxpayers in general. Had she not obtained so much English capital, Russia would now be like a horse with too little instead of too much oats.

The lesson New Zealand teaches us is, that there is practically unlimited occupation for capital in British territory. In eight years a thousand miles of railway will have been constructed there. More attention to our own country and less to others is what the nation demands, and yet so much does the evil feed on itself that those who have gained their wealth by investments abroad are the very persons who exclaim against the Colonies as sources of weakness. Since investments abroad have become somewhat unpopular, there is a large flow of money to British possessions. Commerce is really now engaged in federating the Empire, but so little does practical statesmanship run in harness with commerce, that when the latter arrives at the conclusion that Federation is imperatively required, statesmanship may have made it impossible.

If I may venture to offer advice I would urge on this Institute that the question of Federation should be taken from the region of speculative politics and introduced to the House of Commons. However few its friends in the House at first, they will increase when it is perceived that its advocates are in earnest. By and by the conviction will come that the territories of Great Britain are sufficiently large to make nationalism a noble aspiration, and that other nations may be left to look after their own interests. The possessions of the Queen of England and Empress of India are extensive enough for the exercise of unbounded humanitarianism, for the development of the largest fiscal views, for the operation of the most benevolent theories. We are apt, when we incline to interfere so much with foreign countries, to forget how calculations may be upset by circumstances born of foreign laws or want of laws. A common bond of union is best found in similar laws possessing the common basis of recognition of individual rights and of reverence for liberty and freedom. A law-abiding, free,

and educated people, speaking the same language and owning loyalty to the same sovereign, has lasting interests in common, and if the Empire break up, the fault will be due to those who neglect to weld it together.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES FERGUSSON : I have been requested to say a few words in consideration of the very interesting topics which have been introduced this evening to our notice so ably by Sir Julius Vogel. I beg to say, first of all, that although not at present a resident in London, I felt I could not deny myself the pleasure of being present when one with whom I have been intimately associated in public affairs was to deliver a lecture on topics which possess to me a lasting interest. I make bold to say of Sir Julius Vogel, that very much through his fostering care New Zealand has gone far to justify to the minds of all fair-judging men the great features of his distinguished administration. We have, indeed, heard doubts expressed regarding the prudence and even the success of the public works policy which he inaugurated and carried out, but I think the figures—at which he has only glanced—and the accounts he has given of the progress of the Colony, have abundantly justified that policy. Is there a man in New Zealand or in this country, even though originally opposed to Sir Julius Vogel's policy, who would wish it now reversed? It is absolutely incredible. He has shown that when that policy was introduced the Colony was in a state of stagnation, nay, almost of retrogression. Public credit was greatly damaged, immigration had almost ceased, and indeed the settlement of the Northern Island was not going on; and he, in this condition of things, recognised that the only possible way of forwarding the Colony and securing the safety of its inhabitants was by the introduction of an artificial and comprehensive system of colonisation. I remember when the present Governor of Tasmania, Mr. Weld, visited me for six weeks in Adelaide in the year 1869—for the date is important in discussing the affairs of New Zealand, in which war was then not only a possibility but a present danger—he said to me: "If only we could form a military settlement on Lake Taupo, in the middle of the North Island, I should believe that the wars with the natives would come to an end." Well, I travelled in 1874 by a road along Lake Taupo, by which the mail coach was daily running, and what an alteration I found! I found there a peaceful settlement of Englishmen, the forts, which had only been established a few years before, already being aban-

done because they were no longer necessary ; and this change had followed from the public works policy of Sir Julius Vogel. Now, with regard to immigration, it is evident to anybody that emigrants who could cross the Atlantic for £4 were not going to pay £15 to go to a Colony where they would be in danger of their lives and where there was no security for their property. It was manifestly necessary, therefore, for the Government to take them there, and they did so in large numbers ; and I am glad to say that very few who go there ever care to leave it. Sir Julius Vogel did not trouble you with figures ; but I will venture to refer to about half-a-dozen of those given in his paper, which will speak volumes. In 1869, the year before his public works policy was inaugurated, the population was 287,249 ; in 1876 it was 399,075 ; and now it is far past 400,000. In 1869 the value of the wool exported from the Colony was £1,871,280 ; and during last year it was £3,395,816. Of wheat in 1869, together with provisions, tallow, timber, &c., the value exported was £199,857 ; last year it was £697,007. The revenue in 1867 was £1,787,814 ; in 1876 it was £3,540,996. All that has been accomplished as you have been told—and truly told—without any actual addition to taxation. I always said when I was in New Zealand that the Colony was hardly directly taxed at all, and that the revenue was raised entirely from sources which the people did not feel, the rise in their incomes preventing them feeling the rate of duties of 7 or 10 per cent., not imposed for the purposes of protection but of revenue solely. The rise in the value of private property has been enormous. It shows that the rise of the Colony is no ephemeral prosperity ; but is a final, solid, and enduring progress. Sir Julius Vogel has fully established his case. I say more, he has indelibly impressed his name upon the history of New Zealand. No doubt any man who raises himself to a high position may occasionally go too far in his expectations ; but I can hardly believe that any expectation which Sir Julius Vogel held out to the Colony has not been more than abundantly realised. And let me point out that what he has done has been on a comprehensive plan. There may have been a railway pushed on in one district, where the local interest was greater than in another, perhaps a little in advance of requirements, but lines have been made on a comprehensive plan calculated to develop the resources of the islands with a well-concerted system of arterial communication ; and those works have justified the plan on which they have been worked out, for they have already paid a handsome addition to the revenues of the Colony, although in no case quite complete. The value of land in their neighbourhood has risen with such

remarkable rapidity that there has been a proposal made to put a special tax on the land bordering on them. Sir Julius Vogel has touched on other subjects beyond New Zealand. Many of the remarks he has made on them indicate deep and original thought, but I will not dilate on them, as they would each of them give rise to controversy. I have had occasion, for example, to give attention to the circumstances of India ; and it would be rash to conclude that India is ready for representative government in the European sense. And if we speak of the too small remuneration given for labour in that country, we must have regard to its teeming and rapidly increasing population. Then, again, I could not allow to include in a general encomium his reference to the Cape of Good Hope, where the Governor, one of the most distinguished men in the service of the country, has had to deal with circumstances of unexampled difficulty. I make bold to say that Sir Bartle Frere will place his policy before this country, so that it will be more than fully justified. I will not trespass longer upon your attention. I would say that, having passed a most interesting period of my life in New Zealand, which has been the main subject of Sir Julius Vogel's address, and also in Australia, I would confidently foretell that there are in those Colonies elements of such wonderful prosperity, and also such a great degree of sound sense among the people, and such an attachment to British institutions, that no acts of any individual Minister can do permanent discredit to any of those Colonies, or permanently check their development ; nor do I believe that any ill-advised policy would find permanent acceptance there. I believe that we have to try experiments in new countries. We cannot run too much in the old grooves ; we must strike out original lines, and perhaps they may advance some little distance in the wrong course ; but I do not think that in such cases the colonists will be ashamed to retrace their steps. The English race has attained in many respects a greater development there than here. I wish them, and I believe they have secured for themselves, abundant success ; I will foretell for them that, while conspicuous for their great enterprise, they will adhere strictly to probity in their financial policy, and that they will not be ashamed, when they even go beyond our lines, to walk in the old paths and to justify our descent from our old race by their permanent attachment to our well-proved institutions. (Cheers.)

Mr. HILL spoke a few words, in which he said that he had had the honour of being present some time ago, when Dr. Donald Fraser contributed a valuable paper on Canada, at a meeting of the Institute, which, from its ability and geographical research, he had

taken a deep interest in. For the like reason he felt a deep appreciation of Sir Julius Vogel's paper. He regretted that Sir Julius Vogel had said so little about the South Sea Islands, because their history was so very interesting.

Mr. MACFIE : We have all felt extremely pleased with the lecture—not merely interested and pleased with its style, but its subject has been important and its object has been grand. Since there is a selfishness in this Institute, we keep the good things presented to us too much to ourselves. Perhaps you will say that I, as a Scotchman, am selfish too when I suggest to our respected guest and fellow-member, Sir James Fergusson, that he should invite Sir Julius Vogel to come and visit Scotland, and repeat his lecture there. I think Edinburgh and Glasgow would make him heartily welcome. We should have such a meeting as would applaud Sir Julius Vogel's argument for Imperial unity. If there is a time for Imperial unity it is now, when we are in danger of disturbance of public peace, and muscle may have to be brought into the service of the State. We are now estimating more highly and truly the resources agriculture affords as a substitute for trade. If Sir Julius Vogel will come to Scotland and repeat the lecture, he will do much to promote the cause of that Colony which he represents, and, what is far dearer than that to him, as to us all and all patriots, the cause of the great Empire which has occupied for four centuries so great a place as the Pioneer of Christianity, and the Pioneer of of Civilisation. To encourage and facilitate emigration and occupation of our waste land in the Colonies, so as to preserve our fellow-subjects within the Empire, *decus et tutamen*, is the object the nation ought now to cherish and promote.

Mr. ALFRED E. HARDY, M.P. : When I came here this evening I had not the smallest intention to address you at all, and I am afraid that I have little or nothing to say that can be of any interest ; but I cannot help thinking that we are all indebted to Sir Julius Vogel for the able address he has given us this evening. I was much struck by what he said as to federation. People may differ as to the means for bringing about federation, but I feel convinced that now the great question of some sort of federation—some sort of unity between the Colonies and the mother-country, is one which stirs deeply the hearts of all people in every direction. (Hear, hear.) People, I say, may differ as to the means ; and when I say confederation I do not mean that Colonies must not be self-governed, or, as to Imperial matters, that they are to have a voice in the same way with the Imperial Legislation here. But I do say that if in the future we are to have our greatness in the same way

that we have had it in the past, it must be by our union with the great Colonial Empire, which all foreign countries envy us, although some people in our own nation have professed to say that we should be the richer without the Colonies. Richer without them in one sense we might be; we should be weaker without them in another sense, because we should be less attached to them. Like the person who has no watch in his pocket, we could not be robbed. But I say it is our business to protect our Colonies in the same way as the man who has a watch and money must protect them. I say that these Colonies, which our sons have colonised, and which English labour and capital have made what they are, should be preserved to us, and that it is in their greatness that in the future we shall be great. (Hear, hear.) Lord Macaulay's *New Zealander* is an old friend, and I do not wish to say too much about him, but I think it may be possible that Lord Macaulay's *New Zealander*, instead of coming back to gaze upon the ruined arches of London Bridge, may come back and see a greater England existing than ever existed before, and that possibly in his time some Londoner may return his visit and see such a New Zealand as we never in our wildest dreams could have anticipated. (Applause.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: May I fill up a gap in order to bring before the attention of the meeting a question which I had hoped might have been included in Sir Julius Vogel's paper? But of course every question could not be covered by that valuable composition. Sir Julius Vogel pointed out with great force the importance of our acquiring certain positions in the Pacific Ocean. He spoke of the New Hebrides, but I think he might have gone further and said something about New Guinea. I believe that everything that has happened since that question was before this Institute three years ago, has confirmed rather than thrown doubt on the wisdom of the policy which we then advocated. We have just heard from that quarter that gold has been discovered in New Guinea; and, whatever positions it may be desirable for us to take up in the Pacific Ocean, I think that every day the value of that territory, commanding as it does most important routes of commerce, must become more and more apparent; and I feel it is only a question of time when we must annex that eastern portion of New Guinea. In fact we are finding out that, instead of being weakened by the outposts of the Empire being extended, we are likely, in the event of coming into collision with other Powers, to find ourselves materially strengthened. All we have to do is to take possession of and to utilise certain important commanding positions in the seas, and in the event of our getting into any great naval war with any of

the other Powers we shall hold the keys of the entire position. We shall be able to command those seas, and our enemy will not have an opportunity of venturing out into them with his vessels, because he would have no shelter for them and no coaling stations, and he would meet hostile forces wherever he appeared. But this all brings us up to the question referred to by the last speaker (Mr. Hardy), the question of Federation. (Hear, hear.) We shall require some system of organisation for bringing together all the parts of the Empire, to arrange their common concerns and watch over their common interests. (Hear.) In fact, the whole of these questions are growing more and more—the question of the annexation of these positions in the Pacific, and the question of Imperial Federation. All the circumstances of the present state of affairs clearly point to this as the great, the one great, policy for the future for this country and for the Colonies. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Canon CAZENOVE: I have listened to-day with very great interest to the admirable address of Sir Julius Vogel; but there is one point to which, for want of time, he has failed to do justice, and that is to the wonderful progress of Christianity in New Zealand. It has often fallen to my lot to speak and lecture for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the subject upon which I most frequently dwell is that of New Zealand, and I am greatly indebted to Sir Julius Vogel's book for my information on that country. When Bishop Selwyn first went out to New Zealand as a missionary Bishop, he was the only Bishop of the three islands of New Zealand and of the whole group of the Melanesian Islands; but when he left to take charge of the Diocese of Lichfield, he left behind him no less than seven bishoprics, all thoroughly organised for the great work of spreading Christianity amongst the colonists and the natives; and I think, therefore, that we ought to look upon the progress of Christianity in New Zealand as one of the brightest and most glorious pages in the history of the Church of England.

Sir ROBERT R. TORRENS, K.C.M.G.: Some remarks that have fallen from Mr. Hardy suggest to me that it is desirable that the attention of a meeting such as this should be called to another side of the question besides that on which he dwelt. As an old colonist, I heard him with extreme pleasure dilating upon the duty of this country to maintain its connection with its Colonies and its obligation to support them in times of war and on all occasions, and of their value to this country. But the other side to this question equally calls for attention, namely, that it is the duty of the colonists to contribute in proportion to their relative populations to the defences

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of the Empire of which they are a part, and to aid this country on all occasions of difficulty and danger ; and looking eastward, the time seems to have come when that duty becomes imperative upon the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) There have been small and desultory efforts made for the Colonial defences throughout the whole of the Colonies ; but nothing whatever has been said or thought of about the duties of those people whom Sir Julius Vogel has eloquently described to us as enjoying such advantages, to contribute either in money or any other shape to an organised combination with this country for the defence of the Empire at large. We have been departing very much from the old and true and sound logic of Adam Smith, that the value of the Colonies to the mother-country consists in our treating them as part and parcel of the mother-country, bound to aid her in all her difficulties and to subscribe towards the external defences of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) And whilst we dilate upon the duties of England towards the Colonies, we must not leave out of sight the duties of the Colonies towards the Empire. (Hear, hear.) It is perhaps not prudent to say anything which would be at all contrary to the gratifying picture which Sir Julius Vogel has placed before us of the Colonies generally. Nevertheless, as having taken a part in the Colonial institutions, and in the framing of the Constitution for one of the Colonies, which, however, was afterwards disallowed—(laughter)—I will make a few remarks upon those admirable constitutions. Now one feature that belongs not only to New Zealand, according to Sir Julius Vogel, but is generally prevalent throughout the Australian Colonies of late years, is this, that there shall be no landed gentry in the country ; that no person should hold more than 500 acres of land. In Victoria, a cumulative land tax has been proposed, imposing a tax on a graduated scale, increasing the percentage according to the extent or value of the estate, indicating a disposition to limit the acquisition of landed property. (No, no.) That is my observation. I have lived in those countries, and that is my experience.

A MEMBER : That is by free selection.

Sir R. TORRENS : Then there is a sort of civil war, an antagonism between capital and labour, which is certainly not advantageous to the Colonies. I would remark upon what has been the effect of the exceedingly liberal constitution which has been granted to those countries—I speak especially of South Australia and Victoria. In those countries, under what is known as the Wakefield system, emigrants were sent from this country, and the passages of those emigrants was paid out of the sale of lands in the Colonies to which

they were sent; but after a time, when Constitutional Government was given to those countries and the whole power placed in the hands of the working classes by universal suffrage, the first use made by them of this power was to repeal that admirable system by which emigration had previously been conducted with such wonderful advantage both to the Colonies and the mother-country. In short, the first thing the working classes did when they got unlimited power was to kick down the bridge by which they themselves had passed over from poverty into independence and comfort. They argued, You shall no longer use the Land Fund to bring out labour from England to compete with our labour; you have no more right to do so than to bring out merchandise at the public expense to compete with the merchants in the Colony. Into the hands of those labouring classes has been delivered the whole power of the country, and I very much fear there is a bad future, politically, before the Australian Colonies from the example we see now working in Victoria. (No.) I am sorry to say a word that does not accord with the very glowing pictures which Sir Julius Vogel has laid before us of the future of the Colonies; I see a great deal of difficulty yet to be got through before the political institutions of those Colonies can be placed in a satisfactory condition. In conclusion, I would venture to affirm the existence of a conditional obligation on all the Colonies, in view of difficulties now impending over this country, to come forward and to show practically, not by professions, but by deeds, their desire to remain part of this glorious Empire by accepting as an indispensable condition the obligations to contribute to its external defences.

The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding any further with the discussion, I wish to remark that one of our regulations is, that we should not in our discussions here allude to party politics. (Hear, hear.) Sir Robert Torrens scarcely did perhaps allude to party politics, still, I think the discussion is tending in that direction, and I hope that any succeeding speaker will be careful to keep away from that line, and discuss all that is for the benefit of the Empire or the British Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. J. J. CASBY, M.P. Victoria, said: I regret exceedingly that I should be called upon to ask the meeting not to pass any judgment upon the remarks made by the last speaker so far as Victoria is concerned. I came here to have the pleasure, and I may say the satisfaction, of hearing what Sir Julius Vogel has said in the interesting paper read; and I was prepared to listen to any remarks thereon, but I was scarcely prepared to hear the remarks made by the last speaker, bringing up, as it were, for common observation before this assem-

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As the judge of Victoria, which was no part of the subject of con-
ar, never here. It is by accident that I am here; but, being here,
I would not have to say that some two or three statements
made by him have no foundation in fact. First, he has said that
there is a limitation in Victoria with respect to the acquisition of
the purchase of land. There is no such limit. There is a limit
with respect to land which may be taken up for selection, which is
practically a gift given by the Crown to persons who will settle
upon the public lands. He has made a further allusion to what he
says the working men have done in Australia, and the use which
free and representative institutions have been put to by them. The
simple answer to that is, that the working-men, as he chooses to call
them—I prefer to call them the people of Australia, or the people
of Victoria, and there is no distinction whether you take New
South Wales or any other part of Australasia—the colonists are a
fair sample of each other. These colonists have built railways,
and stretched telegraphs across the continent. They have estab-
lished mail communication with the mother-country by means of
large and expensive steamers. They have expended a quarter of
their revenue in establishing a system of free, compulsory, and
secular education. They have spent their money for their national
defences. They have provided ironclads to defend their harbour,
and they are able to protect themselves against the enemies of the
mother-country, no matter by whom she may be attacked. Is this
not something? (Hear, hear.) And all this was done by the
working-man? I did not think I would have to listen to such
statements, or that such statements would be allowed in this Insti-
tute, traducing the character of the Australian colonist, and it is
immaterial whether he is called a working-man or anything else.
(Hear, hear.)

Mr. EDWARD BOWES CARGILL: As an old New Zealand colonist, I do not wish to find any fault with Sir Julius Vogel for devoting nearly the whole of his speech to New Zealand. There is, however, another part of the subject, not without interest to the people of this country, which appears to have dropped out of the discussion, and on which I should like to offer a few remarks—that is, in reference to the other islands of Polynesia. There are two aspects of this under which I think, it cannot fail to force itself at a very early period on the consideration both of the colonists and of the Government and people of this country. First, in its bearing upon the future of the races inhabiting the various groups with whom we have been brought in contact, and for whose benefit great and hopeful efforts have been made in the establishment of Christian

missions at various points. What is their hope for the future? This is really a question of very great interest, for there are large classes in this country who have devoted much earnest effort and subscribed a great deal of money and sent out a large number of valuable men for the benefit of those races, and it is at least for them a matter of great moment to know what is likely to be the issue of their efforts. I presume there are not many of opinion now that it is possible to carry out what was at one time the dream of some philanthropists—that is, to raise those people by Christianising and educating them to take their place among the nations of the earth in their own strength and upon their own resources. But whatever may be their capabilities in this respect, it appears to me that they will not have the opportunity of taking that position; for, from the progress—the sure progress—of enterprise in that part of the world, I think it is an absolute certainty that within a very few years every one of those groups will fall under the dominion of one or other of the great Christian Powers—be it Great Britain, or France, or Germany, or the United States. Now, it does appear to me that this is a view of the subject well worthy of being pressed upon the notice of the public here, so that, should the question again come up of the expediency or otherwise of extending the British dominion over one of those group of islands, it should not be decided merely on the narrow ground of whether it can be made to directly pay at the particular moment—(hear, hear)—but that it should be judged in recognition of what may be necessary to fulfil our duties and carry out those great purposes for which such efforts have been already made. There is a case in point at present hanging in the balance—I mean that of the New Hebrides. It is known that for a good many years past a Mission has been maintained there at considerable cost of money and valuable lives; but perhaps it will surprise most of those now present to learn that within the last twenty years or so something like £150,000 sterling has been devoted to the support of that one Mission, and this has not been fruitless of results. No doubt we have many statements made as to the futility of missionary enterprise, and travellers bring back stories of the natives having relapsed into their old ways, and become worse than they were before they were acquainted with the missionaries. But I would ask anyone here to take up the account of, say, the New Zealanders as described in the early days of Marsden and his followers, and compare it with any trustworthy account of them as they now are, and then candidly say whether nothing has been done for them by the introduction of Christianity; or apply a similar test to the Fijis or the New Hebrides, some of the

inhabitants of which have been absolutely reclaimed from the most desperate heathenism to the profession of Christianity and the fair observance of Christian duties and obligations. These are very important results, which are perfectly authenticated and quite indubitable, and are matter of supreme interest to large classes of people in this country—classes whose deep wishes and aspirations are certainly entitled to a great deal of respect, whatever may be thought of the general policy of extending British rule. At the present moment the French are understood to be again contemplating the annexation of the New Hebrides for the purpose of a penal settlement, and a petition to Her Majesty the Queen has been recently transmitted from New South Wales praying for consideration of the case in the interests of the missions there. It would be a lamentable end to the labours and hopes of those who have already accomplished so much if the French should really carry out such an intention, accompanied as it would probably be by the repetition of the disastrous history of Tahiti. Such a consummation would be a bitter disappointment to the hopes of those who have supported the missions, and, in my humble judgment, would reflect anything but credit on this country. The other aspect of this part of the subject is in its bearing upon the future of those of our own countrymen who might migrate in considerable numbers and establish Colonies in the several groups of islands. We had a curious illustration of this in the case of the Fijis, to which a number of people from our Colonies went, being attracted by the opportunity offered for the cultivation of sugar and cotton. They invested a large amount of capital and settled in considerable numbers, and set to work with great promise of success in their enterprise. But they soon found themselves in a very peculiar position, being outside of British rule and under no law save that of a poor ignorant savage chieftain but recently reclaimed from cannibalism, and there came about a state of things which threatened deplorable results. There grew up, in connection with their efforts to obtain a supply of labour, something, as stated by Sir Julius Vogel, analogous to the slave trade. They were mostly respectable colonists, as good men as the average of their fellows, but they were placed in the novel circumstances of being outside of the law and without the means of giving effect to such laws as they might make for themselves, and I believe they did the best they could in the circumstances. Now, surely it is a monstrous proposition that in the case of a body of our countrymen finding their way, in the pursuit of legitimate enterprise, to the occupation of lands in a neighbouring group of islands lying open to them, they

should be told that they have passed beyond the pale and protection of British law, and must be content to live under such laws as they can obtain through the grace of a poor ignorant savage. That, in fact, was the state of things, which proved to be intolerable, and which led the Government of this country at last to consent to annex Fiji. Whether Fiji as a Colony will pay or not I do not know ; but I feel very sure that its annexation was a step in the right direction, of great importance in legitimising and giving lawful effect to the enterprise of our own countrymen, and which will powerfully help to raise the state of the natives both of those islands and the adjoining groups. These, then, are the two points which appear to me to be well worthy of being pressed upon the consideration of the people of this country—first, the inevitable future of the native races of the Polynesian groups of islands ; and, second, the future of such of our countrymen as may migrate and found Colonies of our own race upon them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BOOTHBY, Commissioner from South Australia to the Paris Exhibition : As representing South Australia on the present occasion, I wish to state, with reference to Sir R. Torrens' remarks, that the labouring classes in South Australia, through their representatives in Parliament, have, during the past three years, voted no less than a quarter of a million sterling towards the introduction of immigrants from the United Kingdom ; and, therefore, Sir Robert Torrens, when he speaks as he does, has made a mistake—(hear)—and does not represent the case as it at present stands.

The PRESIDENT : I think I may congratulate the Institute and yourselves upon having heard a most interesting and able paper from Sir Julius Vogel, and a very interesting discussion upon the subject of it. Perhaps one, and not the least engaging fact of the evening has been that one of the last elected members of the House of Commons—the new member for Canterbury—has spoken ; but the fact has been particularly interesting, because I think he is almost the first candidate who in his address to his then future constituents thought it worth while to give a prominent place to the Colonies and the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We, the object of whose being is the Colonial interest of the country and the greatness of England's Colonial Empire, must feel indebted to Mr. Hardy for the line he has taken. I hope that, in his place in the House of Commons, he may some day adopt the suggestion of Sir Julius Vogel, and take up the question of Imperial Federation. (Hear, hear.) But I hope that he will, in some respects, modify the views which he seems at present to entertain. There cannot be Imperial Federation without give and

take. He suggested that the Colonies should join the Empire, but should not interfere with Imperial questions.

Mr. HARDY : I did not intend to convey that idea, I meant that they should not interfere in local questions.

The PRESIDENT : I am glad to hear Mr. Hardy's explanation ; that is the only point on which I differed from him. Of course none of us wish that any Federal Parliament or Institution should interfere in the local affairs of any portion of the Empire ; but the object of Federation would be to give the Colonies and the United Kingdom a proportionate share in Imperial questions. (Hear, hear.) I was very glad to hear what Sir James Fergusson said about Sir Bartle Frere. Of course, at present, we do not know the details of what has occurred in South Africa on that political question ; but I feel very confident, from the esteem in which I hold Sir Bartle Frere, as also Sir James Fergusson himself does, that, when we hear a detailed account of what has transpired, we shall be convinced that he acted rightly and honestly and boldly. (Hear, hear.) It certainly was a bold action ; and I am convinced that he was justified in what he has done. With regard to representative institutions in India, I also agree with Sir James Fergusson that I think the natives are very far from capacity for anything of the kind. I know nothing of India. I have never been there ; but it has often seemed to me that we might encourage the natives more. Well, we are not much inclined to copy Russian institutions now, but certainly the Russians have been very wise in the way in which they have dealt with the countries they have conquered. Many of their principal generals lately fighting against the Turks have been natives of the countries conquered by Russia. I think we ought to take a hint from that, and I think it will be very wise if it were possible to give Indian natives, some of whom have a great taste for military affairs, not merely an honorary rank in the Indian army, but real employment in that army—local commands and positions in the army of India. I must say that from what I saw of two native aides-de-camp whom the Prince of Wales brought home from India I should fancy that Indian officers were very fit for high military employment under the Crown. Sir Julius Vogel, at the commencement of his paper, spoke of cheap railways. Now I do not know whether the railways made in New Zealand are cheap, but lately at one of our meetings here a gentleman, who had been employed as engineer in India, spoke to me about an article on railways which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* some few years ago. Colonel Chesney is his name, and he said that that

article proved most satisfactorily that cheap railways were a very bad economy, that the expense of working them was very much greater, and their carrying power very much less. I need not go into details of the question, but evidently it seems to have been made pretty clear that a cheap railway is a doubtful economy. I hope, therefore, that the railways made in New Zealand have been of such capacity and strength as to be of permanent value. I may now, I am sure, in your name, thank Sir Julius Vogel very warmly for his excellent paper, and of which he can say, with the Roman poet, "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" (Applause.)

Sir JULIUS VOGEL: Your Grace, ladies and gentlemen—I have to thank you very much, first, for the kind attention which you gave to the paper, which I am afraid was somewhat unusually lengthy; and, next, for the discussion which followed, and which raised many interesting points on which I was only able barely to touch in the course of my paper. I thank Sir James Fergusson and others for the kind way in which they have spoken of the paper. I may say with respect to the railways of New Zealand, that when I spoke of them as cheap railways I was bearing in my mind the enormously expensive railways which this country enjoys. The railways in New Zealand are constructed with a view to their being sufficiently substantial for the traffic required of them. We are now using steel instead of iron rails. I observed in a paper the other day a statement that a contractor abroad had agreed to supply several thousand tons of steel rails at £6 10s. per ton; and it was looked upon as a very remarkable thing that this could be done on the Continent. It may interest you to know that I have lately contracted for several thousand tons of steel rails at £6 8s., and that within the United Kingdom. I am very much obliged to you for your attention. (Applause.)

SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session took place on Tuesday, April 16th, 1878, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent Street. His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., President, in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following: Major-General Sir William F. Drummond Jervois, K.C.M.G. and C.B. (Governor of South Australia), Lieut.-General Sir Henry Lefroy, K.C.M.G. (late Governor of Bermuda), Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.; Sir Charles Clifford, Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; Sir Bryan Robinson (late Judge of the Supreme Court, Newfoundland), Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Major C. Carpenter, R.A.; Rev. C. F. Stovin, Dr. W. R. Cheadle, Dr. Rae and Mrs. Rae; Messrs. Edward Newton, C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary, Jamaica), W. B. Griffith (Auditor-General, Barbadoes), F. P. Labilliere, G. Molineux (Canada), S. W. Silver, W. Lethbridge, M.A. Jacob Montefiore, J. B. Montefiore, Leslie J. Montefiore, Ernest G. Mocatta, Philip Capel Hanbury, Alexander Rivington, Charles J. Becker (Transvaal), John A'Deane (New Zealand), H. R. Cooper Wallace (New Zealand), G. R. Godson (Canada), G. T. Bean (Adelaide, South Australia), W. S. Wetherell, A. R. Campbell Johnston, Austin Campbell Johnston, A. Sampson (Toronto, Canada), Hugh Jamieson, Harley Bacon, J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria), J. Duncan Thomson (Cape Colony), Chas. Piers (Cape Colony), Robt. Stokes, (M.L.C., New Zealand), H. W. Freeland, A. C. Brise, Miss Sheffington Thompson, A. K. Isbister, M.A., LL.D., and Miss Isbister; Messrs. J. V. Irwin, J. Henwood Thomas, C. F. Lloyd, Hugh R. Fletcher (Newfoundland), James S. Randell, E. P. Walker, Col. Harryton, Major Duncan, R.A., D.C.L., Capt. E. A. French, C.M.G., R.A. (late Commissioner North-west Mounted Police, Canada), Messrs. W. Ackroyd, W. P. Gahan, P. Byrne (Agent for Quebec), W. G. Lardner, J. Snell, J. L. Haddan, Francis A. Gwynne (Victoria), P. Sinclair Laing, Rev. J. Long, Mr. James Brown Stephen, Mr. John Marshall, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Miss Lawrence, the Misses Brooks, Messrs. Alexander Rogers (late Bombay), C. Walford, James Bain (Toronto, Canada), Leonard W. Thrupp (South Australia), Mrs. Sandford Fleming, and the Misses Fleming (Canada), Messrs. S. H. Fleming (Canada), Arthur Jones, H. E. Green, R. C. Makren, Anglesea Highett, Miss Highett, Rev. Brymer Belcher, Messrs. H. J. Haddan, F. J. Rowan (Canada), William Everard (South Australia), K. M. Dutt (Canada), T. H. Roe, W. G. Glyn, Mr. Frederick Young and Miss Young,

The HONORARY SECRETARY, Mr. Fred. Young, read the Minutes of the Fifth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed. The

PRESIDENT then called on the HONORARY SECRETARY to read the following Paper, by Mr. SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., who had suddenly been summoned to Canada on official business :—

CANADA; AND ITS VAST UNDEVELOPED INTERIOR.

Last session a distinguished gentleman, Dr. Donald Fraser, read an exceedingly interesting and instructive paper on Canada. It will probably be remembered that the learned gentleman alluded chiefly to what may now be termed old Canada, that is, the province or united province of Upper and Lower Canada as it existed some time ago, now the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It is not at all desirable that I should venture to take up any of your time with topics which have been so lucidly brought before you, and which have been already ably discussed. It is my purpose to begin where that gentleman left off, and endeavour to describe portions of the country which he did not prominently mention. I shall direct my observations to that part of the earth's surface extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the boundary of the United States to the Arctic Ocean, all of which is comprised within the limits of the Dominion. I shall refer chiefly to the undescribed territories of what may be called New Canada, and attempt to say something about that vast region, the greater part of which is as yet wholly unoccupied by human beings, but with respect to which my fellow colonists are said to be dreaming magnificent dreams.

First let me say a few words about the change which took place a few years ago when Canada dropped her provincial character and assumed semi-continental proportions. I shall not attempt to relate even in brief the political events which led to the confederation of the several British North American provinces. It is enough for the present to remark that local difficulties arose which in themselves seemed not easy of solution except in the adoption of measures similar to those now proposed for the Australian Colonies, which would widen the field and cause mere sectional interests to be of secondary importance. The importance of the objects to be attained seemed worth an effort, and, happily, decided steps were taken.

It has been the custom in the Old World on occasions when to some governing minds it seemed expedient to cultivate the love and affection of adjoining nations, to appeal to the forcible argument of gunpowder. If the object has been to civilise, or Christianise, or in any other way to benefit a people, in olden times it has not been uncommon to employ the sword. In Europe even to-day,

almost at the dawn of the twentieth century, in the laudable purpose of improving the condition of a portion of the human family, the blood of some 200,000 men has been spilled within a few months. War is still uppermost in men's thoughts; it is the one occupation full of life and energy, and all Europe is prepared or preparing for further scenes of destruction and desolation. In the New World Her Majesty's subjects of various races were privileged to form a sisterhood of provinces without the loss of blood; their schemes and aspirations most fortunately were discovered to be in harmony with Imperial policy, and under the gracious favour of the Queen they determined to make the attempt peacefully to weld the scattered provinces of British North America into one. If not peacefully they felt it should not be done at all, and perhaps the circumstances of the New World rendered easy what elsewhere would have been impossible. In the deep forests and the boundless prairies of Canada there is ample scope for all the energies of man. There, where every additional human life is a positive gain to the country, the combative, without destroying each other, may find vent for their fighting propensities in a life-long warfare against Nature in her wildest form.

Difficulties presented themselves to the idea of union. From geographical position, from distinct political organisation, and from limited business relations, the inhabitants of each separate province knew little of each other, and there had been an almost total absence of social intercourse. In view of a political union, an important step was to make the leaders in the local legislatures and the prominent men in the different isolated provinces acquainted with each other. Accordingly public and private hospitalities were tendered and accepted. Conferences were called for discussion, and festivities of every kind were engaged in. They began in the maritime province, where hundreds from the then province of Canada visiting, perhaps, for the first time, the sea-coast, were sumptuously entertained. Soon afterwards the towns on the St. Lawrence and the great inland lakes echoed back the kindly greetings which came from "those who lived down by the sea." In this peculiar way Canadians, true to the hospitable instincts of the British race, with the knife and fork in place of the sword and rifle, inaugurated a successful attempt to lay the foundation of the New Dominion.

A series of important events followed each other with startling rapidity, finally culminating in a scheme for consolidating in one government half a dozen distinct provinces, and providing for the political future of half a continent. The scheme was confirmed by

Imperial legislation, received the Royal sanction, and became the Constitution of Canada on the 1st July, 1867. All the eastern provinces were thereupon united in federal bonds, and four years later British Columbia and the vast territory once under the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company entered the union.

Having mentioned some of the events which ushered in the birth of the new Dominion, it will now be my purpose to furnish in a concise form a general account of the great region embraced within its limits, all of which is under the control of the Canadian Government. Preliminary thereto it seems proper that I should refer to some of those early discoverers and daring travellers who gave to the world the first knowledge of the country.

Last session, Mr. Fraser, when he addressed the Institute, referred to Sebastian Cabot, who touched the east coast of Labrador so long ago as 1496, and to Jacques Cartier who, in command of two or three French vessels, sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1534, and proceeded to establish trading ports, which proved to be the beginning of the old province of Canada, now Quebec. Attention being now directed to a more extended field, in fact, to the northern half of North America, our inquiries must necessarily take a wider range, and embrace discoveries on the Pacific, on the Arctic, as well as on the Atlantic coast.

In the fifteenth century, when the Continent of America was first discovered, the dimensions of the globe were but imperfectly known. Its circumference was thought to be much less than it has since proved to be, and the newly-discovered land was supposed to be the eastern shores of Asia. Spain and Portugal were then the great maritime powers of the world, and they agreed, under a Treaty of Partition founded on a bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. in the year 1494, that the Spaniards should possess exclusive control over the western route to Asia, while the Portuguese should communicate through eastern channels. The question of jurisdiction having thus been settled and stamped with the authority of the highest power in those days, the Portuguese pursued their discoveries to the east by way of the Cape of Good Hope, while the Spaniards endeavoured to find their way, in a westerly direction, through new seas and unknown lands, to India. The Spanish ships cruised along the Atlantic coast of America in the hope of finding their way to the south of Asia. In 1518 the Isthmus of Darien was crossed, and in three years afterwards Spanish navigators penetrated the Straits of Magellan; and thus the Pacific Ocean was discovered at two widely separate points.

In 1592, Juan de Fuca is reported to have followed the Mexican

and Californian coasts until he reached the broad inlet of the sea which to this day bears his name, and which forms the southern limit of Canada on the western ocean. Eight years after the alleged discovery by Juan de Fuca, Henry Hudson ascertained the existence of a great inland sea accessible from the Atlantic side of the new continent. From Hudson's Bay it was confidently expected that some passage would speedily be found which would enable ships to traverse from the Atlantic to the Pacific and shorten the voyage from Europe to Asia.

In 1669 the whole region surrounding Hudson's Bay was granted by the British Crown to the society of merchants ever since known as the Hudson's Bay Company, who, after thoroughly exploring its shores, failed in discovering an outlet to the west.

The first civilised men who pierced the interior were probably French adventurers and traders from old Canada, while the whole country was yet in the possession of France. The exploits of these men who, without the slightest previous knowledge of the territory, penetrated among numerous savage tribes, would be of thrilling interest. They passed from the St. Lawrence through the great lakes Huron and Superior, and by the innumerable intricacies of streams, lakes, and portages to Lake Winnipeg. Thence they passed up the River Saskatchewan to about the 108° meridian, where they planted their most distant trading post some 2,000 miles from the then colonised parts of Canada.

In 1679, almost two centuries ago, Robert Chevalier de la Sale entertained the idea of finding a way to China through the lakes and rivers of Canada. His expedition set out in the frail canoes of the natives, his point of departure above the rapids on the St. Lawrence, near Montreal, was named, and is still named, La Chine, in consequence of the daring project to reach from that point the land of the Chinaman. Half a century later the attempt was renewed. In 1781, Pierre Gauthier de Varennes, under the auspices of Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of New France, commanded the expedition, and although he failed to reach the Pacific Ocean, he was the first to reach the Rocky Mountains.

In 1762, Fort La Rouge, close to the site of the present Fort Garry, was an established trading post. Soon after this the conquest of Canada extinguished French possession and terminated French exploration in the western wilderness. Even the French missionaries, who were the first to preach the Gospel to the aborigines, abandoned the country, and did not resume the work for nearly sixty years.

A hundred years after the grant to the Hudson's Bay Company, one of their agents, Mr. Samuel Hearne, was commissioned to examine the interior. Between 1769 and 1772, that early explorer made journeys on foot and in canoes 1,000 miles westerly from the place of his departure on Hudson's Bay. He discovered Great Slave Lake and other large lakes, and traced the Coppermine River to its mouth.

Exactly a hundred years ago, and in the year before the sad end of one of the most distinguished navigators and discoverers, Captain Cook touched at Nootka Sound, on the western coast of Vancouver's Island, claimed its discovery, and remaining there a few weeks he sailed along the coast to Behring Straits.

After an intermission of eleven years, Alexander Mackenzie, in the service of the North West Fur Trading Company, set out on an important exploration of the interior. Between 1789 and 1798, that intrepid traveller discovered the great river which justly bears his name, and followed it to the Arctic Ocean. He ascended the Peace River to its source, was the first civilised man to penetrate the Rocky Mountains, and pass through to the Pacific Coast. This traveller inscribed in large characters on a rock by the side of Dean Inlet, "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land 22nd July, 1798." On the same day that Mackenzie painted that memorable inscription by the side of the Pacific, Captain Vancouver was pursuing his examination of the coast about two degrees further north. A short time before Mackenzie emerged from the interior, Vancouver had visited the spot where Mackenzie slept but one night within sound of the sea. Thus these two distinguished travellers, from opposite directions and engaged in totally different pursuits, discovered precisely the same place, and, by a remarkable coincidence, all but met each other.

In 1806, Simon Fraser crossed the Rocky Mountains from Canada, and descended the great river of British Columbia which in his honor was named after him. It was my good fortune many years ago to read Fraser's original manuscript journal, then in the hands of the late Sir George Simpson. "The great river of the interior, the great whirlpools of that wildest of all large rivers, and I cannot be surprised that not many have attempted, and still fewer have succeeded, in following in the wake of Simon Fraser from its source to its mouth. - Twenty-two years afterwards, however, Governor Sir George Simpson made the daring attempt. In 1828 he stepped into a canoe at York Factory on Hudson's Bay, and stepped out of the frail craft some time afterwards at the mouth of the River Fraser, having in the interim traversed the interior, and carried

the canoe, as Mackenzie did before him, from the source of Peace River to the great northern bend of the Fraser.

This celebrated traveller, in his journey round the world in 1841, again crossed the northern half of America. His course was by the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, Lakes Nippising, Huron, Superior, and by the canoe route to Lake Winnipeg. Then across the prairie *viâ* the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains and by Kootenais to the Columbia River.

In June, 1848, Captain (now General Sir Henry) Lefroy arrived at Red River, passed through to Lake Athabasca, and then remained from the middle of October to the end of February following, engaged in meteorological and magnetical observations. In March, 1844, he started for Fort Simpson on Mackenzie River, where for several months his time was occupied in similar pursuits.

The north-west passage, a problem which had already baffled the energy and skill of navigators, remained unsolved at the beginning of the present century, and a series of attempts were made to throw light on the gloom which surrounded it. Some of those efforts assumed the forms of expeditions by land, traversing the region which now constitutes part of Central Canada, and therefore call for further notice. The reference to them must be brief, but the indomitable perseverance and heroic endurance which they developed and displayed, demands a passing tribute to names which will ever be familiar in Canadian and Arctic story.

In 1819, an Arctic land expedition was organised under the command of Captain Franklin. That officer travelled, *viâ* Red River, to Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan, and thence by Fort Chipewayan, Fort Enterprise, and the Coppermine River, to the Arctic Coast. This expedition was marked by frightful suffering and loss of life.

In 1825, Franklin started on a second expedition. Having reached Ontario, he passed, *viâ* Lakes Huron and Superior, to Red River, and thence traversed the country to Great Bear Lake, where he wintered. The following year he pursued his journey to the

In 1838, Captain Back, on an expedition in search of Sir John Ross, passed from Montreal to Lake Winnipeg and thence to Fort Reliance, where he wintered; after which he followed the Great Fish River to the Arctic coast.

In 1836, Messrs. P. W. Dease and Thomas Simpson, at the instance of the Hudson Bay Company, started overland from Red River on a joint expedition. They spent the years 1837, 1838, and 1839 in explorations on the northern coast. They joined the sur

veys of Franklin and Beechey at Point Barrow in Behring Strait, and those of Franklin and Back between the Coppermine and Great Fish Rivers, making the longest boat voyage in the Arctic seas on record.

In 1845, Dr. Rae took his departure from Lake Superior on the breaking-up of the winter, passed by the common route to Red River, by Lake Winnipeg to Norway House and thence to York Factory, where he wintered. A year afterwards he wintered at Repulse Bay without fuel, and subsisted with his party for twelve months on food obtained with the gun and spear. He united the surveys of Ross and Parry, a distance of about 700 miles, and made the first long sledge journey performed in that part of the world, the total distance being nearly 1,800 miles.

In 1848, Sir John Richardson, who had already made two overland journeys with Sir John Franklin, made a third in search of that lamented traveller. On the last occasion he was accompanied by Dr. Rae. The two volumes published by Richardson on his return afford evidence of the minute scientific observations made in that part of Canada traversed by these celebrated explorers, and afford ample proof of the value of their labours.

In 1849, Dr. Rae, alone, passed down the Coppermine River, pursuing the object of discovering Franklin with unabated vigour.

In the following year Dr. Rae renewed the search. He wintered at Fort Confidence, Great Bear Lake; descended the Coppermine River; travelled over ice nearly 1,100 miles, at an average rate of from twenty-five to twenty-six miles a day; and made the fastest long Arctic journey which has ever been known. Subsequently, on the same expedition, he made a boat voyage almost rivalling that previously made by Dease and Simpson.

In 1853 and 1854 this indefatigable and justly celebrated traveller, Dr. Rae, was again in the field. Again we find him wintering at Repulse Bay, living nearly altogether on the produce of the gun, the hook, or the spear. He made another sledge journey of over a thousand miles, and joined the surveys of Dease and Simpson with those of Ross west of Boothia. On this occasion Dr. Rae was so far successful as to set at rest all doubts as to the sad fate of the Franklin expedition. For this the promised reward, £10,000 sterling, was presented to him and his men.

With the exception of a final exploration made in 1855 by Messrs. Anderson and Stewart, who passed down the Great Fish River, this ends the record of the overland Arctic expeditions. It cannot be denied that, notwithstanding all the toils, perils, and privations inseparable from them, these expeditions have resulted

in loss and disappointment in the main object for which they were undertaken, viz. a north-west passage for ships. They have incidentally, however, given valuable additions to our knowledge of the country and made important contributions to science.

These various overland Arctic expeditions, of which I have presented but an outline, extended over a period of thirty-six years. But for them the northern regions of Canada would not have been so thoroughly explored. We have now a fair knowledge of the northern coasts, with all their silent and peaceful grandeur, far away from the feverish bustle of busy men. The more Arctic portions of the Dominion are probably destined to remain for ever undisturbed by the hum of industry, and continue, as Providence has hitherto kept them, with all the characteristics of snow and solitude which mark the landscape in high latitudes.

While investigations were being proceeded with during a series of years in the northern parts of British North America, in connection with the all but futile attempts to find a north-west passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, it was not until a comparatively recent period that special attention was directed to the southern and far more valuable portions of the country.

Between the years 1819 and 1855 the northern districts were traversed in many directions. It was only subsequent to the latter date that regularly organised efforts were made to gain information respecting the country nearer home.

In 1857, on the recommendation of the Royal Geographical Society, Her Majesty's Government sent out an expedition to explore the country between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains. It was placed under the command of Captain Palliser, who, with a staff of scientific men, remained pursuing his investigations until 1859. Reports of the highest value were published on the return of the Expedition.

The Government of the late province of Canada likewise sent out an expedition in 1857. Its object was to survey the canoe route between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement. Messrs. Dawson and Hind, who were in charge of distinct branches of this expedition, pursued their investigations during 1857 and 1858, extending them as far west as the south branch of the River Saskatchewan.

In the same years, 1857 and 1858, Captain Blakiston, at the instance of the Royal Society, was engaged in meteorological and other scientific observations. He began at York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, passed inland to Lake Winnipeg, and thence by the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains.

Other travellers, who were not directly commissioned by the Imperial or Colonial Governments, passed through the country, and on their return added valuable contributions to the general stock of information. In 1859 and 1860 the Earl of Southesk followed the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan valleys to the Rocky Mountains, and some years afterwards gave the public the benefit of his observations. In 1862 and 1868, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle crossed from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the Yellow Head Pass and Thompson River, performing a journey in which they were exposed to perils and narrowly escaped disaster. The volume, "*The North-West Passage by Land*," published on their return to England, is one of the most charming among modern books of travel. In 1864 we again find Dr. Rae at work. On this occasion he had abandoned the Arctic regions in favour of a more southern journey. He crossed, as Milton and Cheadle did in the previous years, *via* the Saskatchewan, to Tete Jaune Cache, but, unlike them, he turned at this point to follow the Fraser in place of the River Thompson, finally reaching the Pacific coast.

I ought not to omit to mention Messrs. Douglas and Drummond, both botanists, who spent some time in the country, and David Thompson, after whom the River Thompson is named. He was for many years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as astronomical surveyor. To his labours we are indebted to no small extent for our geographical knowledge of much of the interior.

I should do injustice to the missionaries who have gone forth at different times to Christianise and civilise the native tribes, did I overlook the part they have taken in throwing light on the physical features of the several regions they have visited. Ministers of the Anglican, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Roman Churches have each and all done their part. To French clergymen of the last-named Church we are perhaps chiefly indebted. Nearly a hundred and fifty years ago Pierre Arnaud, on his first intercourse with the Indians, fell a victim, together with one of the brothers Verandrye and party on their way between Lake Superior and Red River. Canada owes much also to the learned Archbishop Taché, whose travels during a sojourn of over thirty years have been extensive, and the results of whose observations in many parts of the far interior have been given to the world.

This brings the list of the principal explorers, as far as I have been able to learn who they were, and the record of the various independent discoveries which have been made, up to the period when the whole territory formerly known as British North America came under the name and jurisdiction of Canada. As I before

mentioned, the Imperial Act by which British Columbia and the Hudson Bay territory entered the Dominion, came into force in July, 1871. On that day strong engineering parties were sent out by the Government of Canada to explore the whole region intervening between the seat of Government at Ottawa in the eastern provinces and the Pacific coast at the west. The object was to obtain more complete information respecting the country, and form a line to be followed by a trans-continental railway. The engineering force engaged in this work has been about a thousand men of all grades. The surveys have been continued from 1871 up to the present time. I have been intimately connected with it myself, and therefore it behoves me to refrain from saying much with respect to the manner in which the work has been done. I may, however, be pardoned for alluding to the earnestness and determination of the Government and people of Canada with respect to the development as rapidly as possible of the magnificent country which has come under their control. An instance may be given in connection with the surveys. After three years had been spent by the large staff in exploring every part of a wild, uninhabited, and roadless country, extending a distance of about three thousand miles, a great amount of exact engineering information had been obtained at a heavy cost, when a serious and discouraging disaster occurred. In 1874, in mid-winter, the building in which were deposited the field note-books, the unfinished plans, and nearly all the other information accumulated, was destroyed by fire, and nearly every scrap of paper was consumed; and thus the labour of three years, and results which had been obtained at a cost of about £800,000 sterling were lost. Nothing daunted, the order was given to begin the work of surveying afresh. It has been vigorously prosecuted up to the present time, and now I can point to some of the results as being highly satisfactory.

I shall not attempt to weary you with even an outline of the details of the work which already fills volumes; I will simply ~~make presently to the general information which has been~~ acquired, and perhaps some of the more important results which have been obtained. It will, however, enable the members of the Institute to form some idea of the labour which has been expended on this survey when I inform them that the total length of explorations made during the last seven years exceeds 47,000 miles, and that no less than 12,000 miles have been laboriously measured by chain and spirit level, yard by yard, through mountain, prairie, and forest. To mention that the Canadian Government has on this special examination alone expended about £700,000 sterling will

not fully convey a correct idea of the energy and determination displayed.

Besides extensive land surveys in Manitoba, the boundary line between Canada and the United States has been defined from end to end. This was done by a joint Commission appointed by both countries. The British section of the commission was in command of Major D. R. Cameron; the work occupied three years, and after it was finished the reports furnished, including scientific papers, by Captains Anderson, Featherstonhaugh, and George M. Dawson, have largely extended our knowledge of that portion of the country adjoining the southern boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. A boundary survey west of the mountains had been previously effected.

The foregoing sketch of the early discoveries of different independent portions of North America, which together make up the Dominion of Canada, and the reference to the various explorations and surveys which from time to time have been made in different parts, will enable members of the Institute to judge of the value of the information, geographical and physical, which has been acquired respecting much of the country. The several provinces on the Atlantic sea-board, and the valley of the St. Lawrence, are well known, and have already been described at a former meeting. The southern margin of the country, extending from these provinces westerly to the mountains, has been examined with the greatest care by the Royal Commission appointed to define the boundary between Canada and the United States. The Canadian coast on the Pacific, with its many deep fiords, flanked in some instances by mountains reaching the limits of perpetual snow, has been the subject of repeated explorations. The northern side of the country, with its long summer day and its equally long winter night, has been visited in nearly every part by brave indefatigable men, who, after perils and privations of no ordinary kind, have mapped it out, and left it again to the silence and desolation which pervades the Arctic circle. The interior is so vast that it cannot be said to have been completely examined. There are still some districts where the foot of civilised man has not yet stepped, but, as I have shown, explorers have been in many directions, adventurous men have penetrated the gloomy recesses of the primeval forest, have peered into the rocky fastnesses of the mountains, and, with unflagging toil and unflinching endurance, have gained for us a general and reasonably correct knowledge of much of the country.

I shall not venture to weary you with many details, but shall en

deavour only to lay before you a very brief and condensed description of the general physical characteristics of the several great divisions of the territory comprised within the limits of the Dominion. In the first place, it is important that a perfectly clear and correct conception should be formed of its extent. If we open an ordinary atlas and overlook the parallels of latitude and longitude, for the moment, all countries appear very much about the same size. Scales and projections are adopted to suit the convenience or fancy of the publisher. Large countries are made small and small countries are made large, to suit the size of the book, and thus strange misconceptions are often formed. If, however, we take a large terrestrial globe upon which all the land and water on the earth's surface are depicted on precisely the same scale, our ideas will be corrected. If on the surface of the globe we draw on one sheet of tracing paper the outlines of Canada, and on another the outlines of Europe, and then proceed to lay the one over the other so as to cover as much of the land in each case as possible, and if we go on to measure and make allowance for portions left uncovered, we shall find that Europe somewhat exceeds the area of Canada, but that the excess is not great. Lest it be imagined that Canada has an undue share of the region of ice and snow, we may exclude from the comparison all the land within the Arctic circle in both cases, and still we find that Canada covers fully more of the earth's surface than the comprised areas of European Russia, Lapland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the British Islands, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, and all the principalities between the Adriatic and Black Seas; in fact, if we leave out Spain and Italy, Canada appears to equal in area the remainder of Europe.

Of course, this is a comparison simply of extent; it has no reference to soil, or mineral resources, or to climate. These features will be briefly considered presently.

It has been found convenient in describing the general characteristics of Canada to divide it into three great regions. Its leading botanical, geological, and topographical features suggest this division. One region, except where cleared of its timber by various means, is densely wooded, another is wooded and mountainous, the third is a vast lowland plain of a prairie character. The Mountain Region is on the western side; the Prairie Region is in the middle; the remainder, which embraces the settled provinces on the St. Lawrence, originally covered with a growth of timber, may, for the sake of simplicity of description, be considered the Woodland Region.

I shall first consider the Prairie Region. If we place before us

an orographical map of North America, it will be noticed that a great continental plain stretches north and south between the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic Ocean. It is bounded on the western side throughout its whole extent by the Rocky Mountain zone, and on the eastern side in part by a less elevated region, the Appalachian zone. This great plain occupies the whole of the continent of North America between the western and eastern mountain ranges. It is divided by its river systems into three perfectly distant drainage basins. One drains to the south into the Gulf of Mexico, another north into sub-Arctic waters, and the third east into the Atlantic by the channel of the great river St. Lawrence.

Of these three basins, that of the St. Lawrence is by far the smallest, and the northern is fully as large as the other two together. The St. Lawrence basin, on the boundary between the United States and Canada, occupies part of both countries; the southern basin is almost wholly in the United States; the northern basin is almost wholly in Canada; and the line of contact between the two latter basins is in part approximately coincident with the 49th parallel of latitude—the southern limit of the interior of Canada. It will thus be seen that the great continental plain of North America is divided naturally, as well as artificially, through the centre. It is divided politically into two adjacent countries, under distinct governments, and naturally into three vast drainage basins, the smallest of which occupies a comparatively narrow strip along the eastern portion of the international boundary line, while the other two discharge their waters in diametrically opposite directions.

The Prairie Region of Canada lies in the northern drainage basin: it may be considered to extend from south to north more than a thousand miles, and nearly the same distance from east to west. It is not all a treeless prairie: a considerable portion is thinly wooded, yet the whole is considered as more or less partaking of a prairie character.

The Prairie Region, so called, is somewhat triangular in form. One side coincides with the international boundary line, and extends from the 95th to the 118th meridian; another side follows the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains from the 49th to about the 64th parallel of latitude. The third side about 1,500 miles in length, skirts a remarkable series of lakes, rivalling in size Lakes Erie and Ontario. These great water-filled depressions lie in a generally straight north-westerly and south-easterly direction. They embrace Great Slave Lake, Lake Athabasca, Lake Wollaston, Deer Lake,

and Lake of the Woods, and they appear to occur geologically on the separating line between a broad band of laurentian or metamorphic rocks and the softer silurian formations. This great triangular-shaped region is estimated to measure about 800,000,000 acres. Its base, running along the series of lakes, mentioned will probably average less than 1,000 feet above the sea, and its apex, near where the international boundary line enters the Rocky Mountains, will probably be about 4,000 feet above sea level. This region may generally be described as a great plane sloping from its apex in a north-easterly direction downwards to its base, but the inclination is not uniform and unbroken. Several terraces and well-defined escarpments stretching across the country are met with at intervals. A great proportion of the surface is gently rolling, and hills of no great height occur here and there. The rivers of this division of the country flow for a great part of their course in deeply eroded channels, frequently of considerable width, and as the superficial formations are for the most part drift or soft rock, the channels which have been furrowed out are but little obstructed by falls or steep rapids. They generally present a uniform descent, and the long stretches of some of the rivers, although the current be swift, are capable of being navigated. A wide expanse of the region to the south of the main Saskatchewan is a prairie, without trees or shrubs of any sort; the tree-less prairie passes by easy gradations into copse wood land with prairie intervening. To the north of the Saskatchewan, woodland appears in various localities. On Peace River there are extensive prairies; there is, also, an agreeable mixture of woodland and prairie, and this character of country appears to prevail for a considerable distance still further north.

It is scarcely to be supposed that a region so extensive would be found all fertile land. The great American desert, which covers a wide area in the centre of the United States, was at one time thought to extend north for a considerable distance into Canada. The Boundary Commission reports, however, appear to show that the arid and unproductive tract is more limited in the Canadian side than was previously supposed, and that a great breadth of the country previously considered valueless may be used for pastoral purposes, and some of it ultimately brought under cultivation. There are other places within the territory described as the Prairie Region which are unfavourable for farming pursuits; and although certain drawbacks claim recognition, there can no longer be any doubt respecting the salubrity of the climate and the existence of vast plains of rare fertility. Information on this head has

been obtained year by year. Professor Macoun, a well-known botanist, has recently been commissioned specially to investigate this subject. He estimates that there are no less than 160,000,000 acres of land available in this region alone for farming and grazing purposes, of which one-half, or 80,000,000 acres, may be considered fit for cultivation.

The mineral riches of this great division of Canada are but imperfectly known. It has, however, been established that immense deposits of coal exist in many parts, chiefly along the western side. The examinations of Mr. Selwyn, director of the Geological Survey, carry the impression that the coal-bearing rocks pass with their associated coal seams and iron ores beneath the clays farther east, and it may be that shafts would reveal workable seams of coal at such limited depths beneath the surface as would render them available for fuel and for industrial purposes in the heart of the prairies. Should these views of Mr. Selwyn prove correct, it will be of the greatest possible importance to the country. Besides coal and iron ore, petroleum, salt and gold have also been found.

The nucleus of a population has for many years existed on the Red River : it was originally formed by the Earl of Selkirk near the beginning of the present century. In the autumn of 1812 he reached the chosen locality, Kildonan *via* Hudson's Bay and Nelson River, with a small party of Highland Scotchmen. Subsequently the numbers were increased, and a number of French Canadians also settled down to cultivate the soil at St. Boniface, on the opposite bank of the Red River. The Red River settlers, exposed to many vicissitudes during a space of half a century, did not greatly prosper. But since the incorporation with Canada of the whole country] formerly under the sway of the Hudson Bay Company, marvellous progress has been made. The province of Manitoba has been created around the place which was once the Selkirk settlement ; the population has increased from a mere handful to many thousands, and it has to all appearance entered on a career of unexampled progress.

Manitoba, although a province with prospects so brilliant, occupies but a small corner of the fertile lands in the interior of Canada. The Prairie Region, as set forth in the foregoing, is alone ten times the area of England, reckoning every description of land : such being the case it may be no vain dream to imagine that in due time many Provinces will be carved out of it, and that many millions of the human family may find happy and prosperous homes on these rich alluvial plains of Canada.

I shall now pass to that other great division of the country which has been designated the Mountain Region.

This is part of the great elevated mountain zone of North America, which begins in the Cordilleras and elevated plateaus of Mexico and extends to the Arctic Ocean. If we examine the orographical map, it will be observed that the Rocky Mountain zone, although it has many subsidiary mountain ranges, is characterised for the greater part of its length by two prominent and perfectly distinct Alpine chains, each with many spurs or branches. One of these main chains is directly along the Pacific coast: in Canada it is known as the Cascade Mountains, and farther south as the Sierra Nevadas. The other is in the Rocky Mountains proper: it observes a general, although not perfect, parallelism with the coast. The distance between the crests of these two lofty chains varies from 1,000 miles in the United States to 800 miles in Canada, and from this circumstance may be attributed the remarkable widening of the alluvial plains in the Canadian half of North America.

I shall now confine my remarks to that portion of the Rocky Mountain Zone within the limits of Canada.

The Cascade Chain rises abruptly from the sea level, presenting from the water an extremely bold and defiant aspect. The average height of the many serrated summits will probably range from 5,000 to 8,000 feet above sea level, and some of its central crests and loftiest peaks rival in elevation the main Rocky Mountain Chain. The main Rocky Mountain Chain is in Canada from 800 to 400 miles distant from the Pacific coast. This chain rises like a colossal wall above the continental plain on its eastern side. Its flanks are, however, deeply gashed, and great counterfort-like spurs jut out, between which the rivers which water the Prairie Region take their rise. Much of this great mountain barrier rises over 8,000 feet above sea level. The loftiest central peaks enter the region of perpetual snow; some of them, indeed, reach an elevation estimated at 15,000 feet above the ocean. On the western flank of the chain are several independent groups of mountain, known by local names. They are separated from each other by narrow valleys and deep chasms, some of which are prolonged in the direction of the Prairie Region, forming passes through the mountains. Some of these passes are from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea, and they range down to less than 2,000 feet. These transverse openings through the lofty chain afford comparatively easy passages from one side to the other. The lowest and most remarkable is in about latitude 56 degrees. Here the Peace River

rises on the western side of the Rocky Mountain, and flows through them at a low altitude, ultimately passing into the Mackenzie River.

Between the Cascade and Rocky Mountain Chains there extends an elevated plateau, averaging from 8,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level. This plateau is grooved out by deep river channels, broken by rocky ridges and inferior mountain masses. It has many lakes, occupying deep depressions in the surface, and is intersected in many directions by numerous broad, sheltered, undulating valleys. The surface of this plateau in some quarters is thickly, in others scantily, timbered, and in some districts open prairies present themselves.

Off the shore of the mainland there are several large islands, the most important of which is Vancouver Island; the others are the Queen Charlotte group. The former is half as large as Scotland, the latter is in area more like Wales. The climate of these islands is moist and temperate, and in this respect they are not dissimilar to the British Islands. Vancouver, the most southerly, has an elevated interior with mountains rivalling in height those of the mother-country. Some of the central peaks, such as the Alexandra, the Albert Edward, and the Victoria, rise from 6,400 to 7,500 feet above the sea. The last, the Victoria Peak, is double the height of Snowdon, and one-third higher than Ben Nevis.

Besides Vancouver and the Queen Charlotte group, there exists along the shore of the mainland an archipelago of smaller islands, between which are deep, and in many places intricate passages. Great arms of the sea pierce the mainland in many places. They resemble the deep-water, rock-bound fiords of Norway, and they penetrate so far that the largest iron-clads afloat could steam, in some cases, to the very heart of the Cascade Mountains.

The Mountain Region has some good lands, but the fertile tracts are limited in extent; when developed they will be advantageously situated for raising agricultural products and stock to supply the mining industries which in time will undoubtedly be established.

This region is exceedingly rich in minerals; it contains coal and iron in profusion. In quality the Vancouver coals are found superior for steam-engines to any worked on the Pacific coast. They find their way to California, and are used on the railways leading out of San Francisco, in spite of a high duty imposed by the United States. The precious metals are also found. The yield of the gold washings is already about 40,000,000 dollars, and within the past year quartz mining has been inaugurated. Mr.

Dawson, of the Geological Survey, reports: "I think it may be said without exaggeration that there is scarcely a stream of any importance in the province of British Columbia in which the 'colour' of gold is not found." Silver is met in several localities. Copper, mercury, lead, platinum, and nickel are also mentioned in the reports of the Geological Survey.

Very much still requires to be learned respecting the rock formation of the Mountain Region. Data have, however, been collected in a rapid and necessarily imperfect geological exploration sufficient to establish the existence of great mineral wealth. There can be no doubt that here we have a wide and promising field, and the future will witness industries of various kinds working and developing the riches which lie buried under the surface. The forests, of enormous growth, which exist in many places, and the fisheries of the rivers and coasts, will give employment to a very considerable population.

I must now turn to the Woodland Region, but to describe it even in outline would far exceed the limit of this paper; I must therefore content myself with a few passing remarks. I have already defined the Woodland Region to be the whole of Canada not within the Mountain Region in the west and the Prairie Region in the middle; it therefore embraces all the settled portions of the eastern provinces which were wooded at one time, but have within a brief period in part been cleared by the hand of man. This Region is of immense extent; it embraces 84 degrees of longitude; its most southerly point is on Lake Erie, in the 42nd parallel, and stretches from the latitude of Rome away far north to a point at least 200 miles within the Arctic circle. Compared with the country on the Pacific coast, no part of this region can be considered mountainous. Although elevated ranges, like the Laurentides, are met, only a small proportion of the country exceeds 2,000 feet above sea-level. An area of fully 200,000 square miles is estimated to be under 500 feet.

So great an extent of territory presents many varieties. In the north it assumes an Arctic character, and resembles portions of Siberia. The nearest portion of Canada to Europe is that which is least known and believed to be least valuable. It is bounded on the west by Hudson's Bay, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. Its extreme length from north to south is about 1,000 miles, and about the same length from east to west. This section of Canada is somewhat greater in area than Norway and Sweden, Denmark and Lapland, and a great extent of it is considered to have no better climate than the northern parts of these European countries.

To the north-west of Hudson's Bay about an equal area may be similarly described. Its surface is varied, and its vegetation affords sustenance for the great herds of reindeer and muskox which find a home in this otherwise inhospitable section. It presents no prospect for the agriculturist; the only hope is in the fisheries along the coast; in the fur trade, and possibly in minerals which lie hidden under the surface.

These are the worst sections of the country; as we advance southward its character gradually changes and improves. True there is a broad band, the agricultural resources of which are not promising; but the forests which cover the surface will every year become more and more valuable, and its geological structure affords indications of mineral wealth. The investigations of the Geological Survey here point to the existence of rich deposits extending over wide areas. The more important minerals are gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, phosphates, and plumbago. Crossing the metalliferous band, we reach considerable tracts of land which by cultivation will produce all the ordinary crops; and continuing south we finally reach Ontario, one of the finest wheat-producing provinces in the world.

I must say a word about the climate. It should be borne in mind that Canada, like Europe, extends over so many degrees of latitude that it must have many gradations of climate. In some parts of Canada fruits ripen in the open air that cannot successfully be grown in England in any quantity except under glass. In one locality every farmer enjoys the luxury of a large peach orchard, while far to the north the flora and fauna are those of Lapland, and still farther north icebergs are the perennial crop. The alpine region bordering the Pacific, as in Southern Europe, presents lofty peaks reaching the permanent snow-line, while at lower levels in the vicinity of the ocean a climate soft and mild as Ireland prevails.

In the greater part of Canada, however, the thermometer has a wide range. In summer the temperature runs high; in winter it occasionally goes very low. It is difficult for a resident of this country to understand how one can live and enjoy life in a temperature sometimes many degrees below zero; but owing to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere the cold is not really felt so much as might be imagined. Ordinary work is carried on in the open air without inconvenience in what would seem to a resident in England very great degrees of cold. Ploughing, as a rule, is never done; the land lies completely dormant during the winter months; but various other kinds of work are performed. The construction of the public works, such as canals and railways, goes on,

and in this portion of the year, thousands of men proceed to the pine forests to cut logs for exportation and for the local saw-mills. As a further illustration of what can be done in a climate which, when mere temperature is considered, would seem an unendurable one, I may mention that the explorations for the Pacific Railway have been carried on in winter as well as summer for several consecutive years. Most persons in London would no doubt consider it a hardship to sleep a single winter night on Hampstead Heath with, say, but an inch of snow under them. The climate of Canada admits of exposure, with proper precautions, which would be thought inadmissible in England. The Pacific Railway staff were engaged in explorations thousands of miles from ordinary human habitations, and had only canvas for shelter winter and summer. I could name men who for two consecutive years have been continuously in the field, and who during that period had no roof other than the tent over them. And I must explain that these men were not, as might be supposed, the hardy Orkneyman or Highlander in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company—a race of men inured to tempest and storm, who for generations have been employed in the remote north of America, and who, as pioneers, have left their names on the rivers and mountains of the country. Nor were the men I refer to all native-born Canadians, accustomed to the climate from childhood. Some of them were tenderly brought up in the mildest counties of the British Islands, and those men appeared to endure the low temperature to which they were day and night for months exposed with as little inconvenience as those who had been more accustomed to it. These facts will probably tend to correct some notions respecting the much-dreaded cold. It is well known that the human system is not affected by temperature alone in the same way as a thermometer. My own experience of a third of a century in Canada enables me to judge of this. In the performance of my duties I have been exposed to the inclemency of the weather more than many men, and while I confess to have suffered from the summer heat of Canada, I am not sensible of having felt cold more keenly than I have felt it at times in the British Islands. In saying this I am perfectly aware that thermometric tables establish beyond dispute that the winter temperature of Canada ranges far below that of England.

Generally speaking, the climate of habitable Canada may not unfairly be compared with that of Russia, Germany, Austria, and other countries in Europe. It cannot be denied that the winters are perhaps longer and colder than desirable. The climate is certainly continental, but notwithstanding the wide range of

temperature, there cannot be a doubt that it is not only endurable, but is healthy and salubrious.

Viewing Canada as one consolidated country, extending across the widest and not the least valuable portion of the continent of America, embracing a marvellous breadth of fertile and unoccupied land, with a healthy, invigorating climate ; with illimitable mineral resources ; with supplies of timber in her forests second to those of no country in the world ; with inexhaustible fisheries in its great lakes and rivers, and around its coast on three oceans ; with deposits of coal and iron of unmeasured extent in the interior of the country, and on the Atlantic as well as on the Pacific seaboards ; taking all these natural elements of future wealth and greatness into consideration, the problem which presents itself is, the development of a country which has been provided with natural resources so lavishly. The question is, how to colonise the northern half of North America, and render it the home of a happy and vigorous people. It is true that Canada already has a population of some four millions, but as yet the mere outer fringe of the country is occupied. We are only beginning to realise the fact that the interior has space for many times the present population. It is just beginning to dawn upon Canadians themselves that in the territories which have been described, there is room, and to spare, and there exist the elements of support, for a greater population than the mother-country. No wonder, then, that the problem to be solved appears one of weighty importance.

The waterways of a country present the natural means of colonisation. In bygone times, rivers and lakes, the shores of bays and estuaries, have been followed by adventurous races, and these natural channels have thus in all ages furnished the means of spreading the human family. Canada is not wanting in highways of this kind, although many of them are subject to drawbacks which will presently be referred to. On the eastern side she has the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which in many respects resembles the Baltic. To the north she has Hudson's Bay, a sheet almost half as large as the Mediterranean. She has lakes, but they are really seas, and they breed storms and tempests like the Atlantic. I might attempt to describe a dozen of these inland freshwater seas, but I should fail to convey a correct idea of their character and importance. Fortunately I can refer to a description of the waterways of Canada by a master-hand. I cannot, I am sure, quote higher authority than that great traveller and distinguished nobleman, the Governor-General. On a recent occasion, Lord Dufferin, standing as near as possible midway between the Atlantic and the

Pacific, and addressing some of the subjects of Her Majesty in the province of Manitoba, said :—

“To an Englishman or a Frenchman, the Severn or the Thames, the Seine or the Rhone, would appear considerable streams; but in the Ottawa, a mere affluent of the St. Lawrence, an affluent, moreover, which reaches the parent stream 600 miles from its mouth, we have a river nearly 550 miles long, and three or four times as big as any of them. But, even after having ascended the St. Lawrence itself to Lake Ontario, and pursued it across Lake Huron, the Niagara, the St. Clair, and Lake Superior to Thunder Bay, a distance of 1,500 miles, where are we? In the estimation of the person who has made the journey, at the end of all things, but to us who know better, scarcely at the commencement of the great fluvial systems of the Dominion, for from that spot, that is to say from Thunder Bay, we are enabled at once to ship our astonished traveller on to the Kaministiquia, a river of some hundred miles long. Thence almost in a straight line we launch him on to Lake Shebandowan, and Rainy Lake and River—the proper name of which, by the by, is ‘Rene,’ after the man who discovered it—a magnificent stream 800 yards broad, and a couple of hundred miles long, down whose tranquil bosom he floats into the Lake of the Woods, where he finds himself on a sheet of water which, though diminutive as compared with the inland seas he has left behind him, will probably be found sufficiently extensive to render him fearfully seasick during his passage across it. For the last eighty miles of his voyage, however, he will be consoled by sailing through a succession of land-locked channels, the beauty of whose scenery, while it resembles, certainly excels the far-famed Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence. From this lacustrine paradise of sylvan beauty we are able at once to transfer our friend to the Winnipeg, a river the existence of which in the very heart and centre of the continent is in itself one of Nature’s most delightful miracles, so beautiful and varied are its islands, so broad, so deep, so fervid is the volume of its waters, the extent of their lake-like expansions, and the tremendous power of their rapids. At last, let us suppose we have landed our traveller at the town of Winnipeg—the half-way house of the continent, the capital of the Prairie Province, and, I trust, the future ‘umbilicus’ of the Dominion. Having had so much of water, having now reached the home of the buffalo, like the extenuated Falstaff, he naturally ‘babbles of green fields,’ and careers in imagination over the primeval grasses of the prairie. Not at all. Escorted by Mr. Mayor and the Town Council, we take him down to your quay, and ask him which he will ascend first, the Red River or the Assiniboine, two streams—the one 500 miles long, the other 480—which so happily mingle their waters within your city limits. After having given him a preliminary canter upon these respective rivers, we take him off to Lake Winnipeg, an inland sea 300 miles long and upwards of sixty broad, during the navigation of which for many a weary hour he will find himself out of sight of land, and probably a good deal more indisposed than ever he was on the Lake of the Woods, or even the Atlantic. At the north-west angle of Lake Winnipeg he hits upon

the mouth of the Saskatchewan, the gateway and high road to the North-West, and the starting point to another 1,500 miles of navigable water, flowing nearly due east and west between its alluvial banks. Having now reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains, our 'Ancient Mariner'—for by this time he will be quite entitled to such an appellation—knowing that water cannot run up hill, feels certain his aquatic experiences are concluded. He was never more mistaken. We immediately launch him upon the Athabaska and Mackenzie Rivers, and start him on a longer trip than he has yet undertaken, the navigation of the Mackenzie River alone exceeding 2,500 miles. If he survives this last experience, we wind up his peregrinations by a concluding voyage of 1,400 miles down the Fraser River, or, if he prefers it, the Thompson River to Victoria, in Vancouver, whence, having previously provided him with a first-class return ticket for that purpose, he will probably prefer getting home *via* the Canadian Pacific. Now, in this enumeration, those who are acquainted with the country are aware that, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted thousands of miles of other lakes and rivers which water various regions of the North-West—the Qu'Appelle River, Belly River, Lake Manitoba, the Winnipegosis, Shoal Lake, &c. along which I might have dragged and finally exterminated our way-worn guest, but the sketch I have given is more than sufficient for my purpose; and when it is further remembered that the most of these streams flow for their entire length through alluvial plains of the richest description, where year after year wheat can be raised without manure or any sensible diminution in its yield, and where the soil everywhere presents the appearance of a highly-cultivated suburban kitchen garden in England, enough has been said to display the agricultural riches of the territories I have referred to, and the capabilities they possess of affording happy and prosperous homes to millions of the human race."

Lord Dufferin did not allude to the artificial waterways of Canada. Compared with some of the lakes and rivers, the canals are, indeed, unimportant; but they will stand comparison with any works of their class. As engineering achievements, I believe I am correct in saying that they are unrivalled. They are certainly as much superior to the canals of the United States, as the latter are in advance of anything I have seen in England. These canals exist only in the provinces which lie in the valley of St. Lawrence, still they are of immense value as links in a great chain of navigation, on which during part of the year the products of field and forest are floated to market. But however valuable the artificial, as well as the natural waterways of Canada are, they are open to one serious drawback. They are, as may be supposed, exposed to climatic influences, and the low temperature I have referred to, however dry and invigorating to man, has the effect in the still brilliant nights of early winter, of sealing them up until the sun again begins to return to the summer solstice.

The early settlement of the provinces was effected by means of the rivers, and bays, and lakes. There were no railways in those days: the hardy pioneers, axe in hand, landed on the forest-clad banks, and cut out homes for themselves and their children. In the four or five winter months they became completely isolated from the outer world, and from all but their nearest neighbours. In consequence the progress of settlement was but slow, and it was confined mainly to a narrow margin of land along the navigable water channels. It was not until railways were introduced that the progress of the provinces was so marked. These lines of communication, performing their functions independently of climate, connecting all parts of the old settlement, and penetrating wide tracts of land not previously accessible, have given Canada an enormous impulse, and established the conviction that the great interior to be prosperous, if colonised at all, must eventually be traversed not simply by one railway, but by many railways. The great water-ways will do their part during the open season in assisting to colonise the vast unoccupied regions that are fitted for the homes of men, but they alone would be utterly insufficient. If existing railways have proved so advantageous to sections of the country provided with navigable water channels, and at no great distance from the ocean, such as the settled portions of the province of Ontario, railways become indispensable to the western fertile regions not so favourably situated. In the great internal cultivable territory, therefore, it is clear that a system of railways must be considered necessary, in order to provide for its occupation by the many millions it is capable of supporting.

We have already had some experience of railways in Canada, as their construction has been progressing for the past twenty-five or thirty years, and we have found it important to regard with attention the principles which should govern their establishment in new districts. I shall not enter into mistakes which have undoubtedly been committed in the past, by which a great deal of money, public and private, has been sunk and wasted; but in the remarks which follow, it will be observed that due regard is had to the experience gained in these matters, and to the importance of avoiding such fatal mistakes as the building of lines which would injuriously compete with each other, or the sinking of money prematurely in the completion of any lines long before they are wanted.

In carrying railways through unsettled regions, we are called upon to solve a problem differing in essential circumstances from that which has to be considered in laying down lines in old districts already well populated. In the latter case the work is designed

practically to diminish distance by the use of high speeds. A heavy expenditure to attain high speed is justifiable, as traffic already exists which will immediately render expenditure productive of revenue. In an unoccupied country, the circumstances are entirely different. Traffic, without which there can be no revenue, has to be created, and the question is complicated by the consideration that the railway itself is indirectly the chief means by which traffic is expected in process of time to be developed. There is a marked difference in the necessities of the two cases. In the inhabited country the railway is an after-thought, and high speed is the prime necessity which calls the line into being. In the unoccupied country a certain means of communication is of first importance, and if high speed cannot be obtained without involving an outlay that would prove burdensome, those concerned must for a time be contented with a less perfect, low speed line until the population becomes sufficiently numerous and wealthy to call for high speed. Such being the case, it seems wise to keep in view from the very first three important considerations :—

1. Certainty of communication at all seasons.
2. The expenditure of no more unproductive capital than may be absolutely necessary.
3. The necessity of a high-class railway ultimately, and the importance of securing it without any waste or misapplication of capital in carrying into execution preliminary or intermediate works.

By a high-class railway in the third consideration, must be understood a line so perfect that not only high speed may be attained with safety and certainty, but that the actual cost of conveying passengers, as well as products of all kinds, would be reduced to as low rates as it would be possible to make them. I may say that I have no faith in what are sometimes erroneously called cheap railways. The true cheap railway is the one that can with profit do its work cheaply. I would advocate the utmost economy in expenditure, but at the same time the kind of perfection referred to should be kept prominently in view from the very first.

The Pacific Railway has been projected for the double purpose of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific sides of Canada, and the opening up of the interior for settlement. This project has been the subject of much discussion in Canada ; it has entered into the realm of politics, and opposite parties, although agreeing with respect to the great desirability of the line, have not agreed as to the means of securing it. As an individual simply, I may hold views that do not harmonise with those of either party, or of any person, but I shall nevertheless, from an individual and perfectly

independent standpoint, endeavour briefly to lay my views before you.

The whole country between the settlements in the Ottawa valley and the coast of British Columbia has as yet very few civilised inhabitants. There are, according to various estimates, probably from 8,000 to 12,000 souls in occupation of portions of British Columbia, and within the past few years settlers have begun to pour into the Pacific region in the province of Manitoba. There are also a few hundreds established on the north shore of Lake Superior. Taken altogether, there are probably not more than 20,000 or 30,000 within a very considerable distance of any part of the 3,000 miles of railway which has been projected. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the present condition of the country, is a very serious undertaking, and requires grave consideration. I have no doubt whatever that it will at no distant day be a work accomplished, that it will form not only a connecting link between the old half-dozen provinces on the Atlantic, and the still greater number of provinces which have yet to come into existence in the west; but that it will constitute an important part of a great Imperial highway extending between the heart of the Empire in England and some of its outlying portions and dependencies on and beyond the Pacific.

The Pacific Railway being projected for a double purpose, it may not be without profit to consider the purposes and to view it, firstly, as a colonisation line, secondly as, a through national line.

Firstly. The experience which we have gained in Canada has tended to establish several sound economical principles in connection with the building of colonisation railways in new territories. Some years ago, a scheme based on these principles was projected, which commended itself to my judgment, and which, in part at least, has since been sanctioned by the Government. It was termed the Territorial Road Scheme, and as it may possibly be capable of application with advantage to other countries such as those Colonies where much land yet remains to be occupied, it may not be without interest to members of the Institute. I shall venture, therefore, briefly to notice it.

First of all it is assumed that railways will ultimately be required and built in every district where the natural resources of the country, although for the present dormant, are capable by the application of human industry, of producing traffic which would render steam power as a means of transit necessary and profitable. Supposing we have to colonise a territory fulfilling these conditions, the first step is to discover by elaborate surveys the very best position

for the future railway system which the prospects or possibilities of the country would seem to demand. The system of lines thus to be projected may consist of a single trunk line with branches at proper intervals, or it may be a number of lines running in the direction which traffic would seek, or on which in the public interest it would be desirable to lead it. It is considered important to take this step in advance of settlement, because even a few settlers frequently acquire considerable influence in a new country, and, as is sometimes the case, they may succeed in warping or twisting a trunk line away from the most advantageous position to another and inferior position, in order to suit their adventitious and purely local circumstances. Thus, general interests which, in the future may be of the greatest importance, may suffer through comparatively insignificant local interests unduly magnified for the moment. Having determined the lines upon which the railways some time or other are to be built, the next step is to select at proper intervals the most suitable points for the stations, and from these, and these only, to project all the branch roads of every class that are likely to be required.

Thus the road system of the country to be colonised is proposed to be projected and the position of the several lines definitively fixed, but as the line of railway in some instances may for many years be used as an ordinary road before it finally be converted into the steam communication, and as it could scarcely be designated a railway until it became one, the term "territorial road" was suggested. This term it was proposed to apply to all trunk lines destined ultimately to become railways.

Having established the position of the territorial roads and the points on them for future railway stations, the next step is to lay out at the latter points sites for villages and towns. Along the territorial road lines it is designed to erect a telegraph and to make in the first place a common cheap road, such as are usually made for the first requirements of settlers. It is also proposed as time rolls on to give employment to such of the poorer settlers as might require it, in improving the road, having in view always its ultimate purpose, and thus form the groundwork of the future railway by a series of progressive stages corresponding indeed with the progress of the settlement. It is designed that the line shall be used as a cart or waggon road in its rudimentary state, the rails to be laid and the railway to be completed only when the demands of traffic or the exigencies of the country require the steam communication.

The scheme undoubtedly has much to recommend it. Settlers

would know beforehand where the railway and road system of the country would be created, and they would govern themselves accordingly in selecting their locations. The trade of the country would grow up in the proper channels designed for it. There could be no railways built where they were not wanted, and they need not exist as railways until they are actually needed. Thus ruinous competition would be avoided, and accumulated losses or unproductive capital may be greatly reduced or altogether saved. Traffic would from the first centre at the future stations and, as a consequence, at these points, villages at first, important towns in time, would spring up. A concentration of labour year by year on the territorial road would give the pioneer settlers needful employment, would in course of time prepare it for the superstructure of the railway, while the occupation and cultivation of the land and the development of other natural resources would prepare the country for railway services.

This scheme for the development of the highways of a new country appears peculiarly applicable to the circumstances of the case under consideration, if we shut out from our view all questions except simply the colonisation of the interior of Canada. After the position of the lines have been determined on—and this should be done after exhaustive examinations have been made—the next effort should be to complete telegraphic communication along the precise line of the future railway. The cost of a telegraph is so trifling compared with its advantages, that it should be made the precursor of other means of communication. The telegraph erected, a bridle-path from post to post would probably be the first means of transport ; then would follow a waggon or post road ; finally, a perfect line of railway, when the traffic of the country or the interests of the nation required the most rapid means of steam communication.

The territorial road system was suggested at a period anterior to the agreement made with the Province of British Columbia, to build a continuous line of railway from one side of the continent to the other. If for the moment we view the trans-continental railway simply as a colonisation line, the economical principles of the scheme then advocated appear as applicable to-day as they were formerly. I shall, therefore, in order clearly to elucidate these advantages, take the liberty of reproducing one or two paragraphs which I penned at the time :—

“ The application of the principles laid down for opening up, by means of territorial roads, the leading highways of a new country, if applied to the development of the vacant districts in the interior of British North

America, would result in most important advantages. A territorial road is understood to be the precursor of a railway; its establishment is recommended in every case where prospective traffic may possibly render steam power, as a means of conveyance, profitable or necessary; and this is considered essentially one of these cases. If the building of a railway be at the present time inexpedient, who will venture to say, in view of the many millions of fertile acres stretching in a wide band across the central plains to the rich auriferous valleys of the Rocky Mountains, and in view of the sudden impulse which may be given to properly directed emigration and colonisation, that a railway will not follow in the path of a simple road across the continent before another generation has passed away? . . . If a portion of the immigration, which has hitherto swelled the ranks of the American Republic, could be led to our own prairies by a route which would make them as near and as accessible as those on the Mississippi, a post road and a telegraph through the country would meet with abundant employment; a demand would soon be created for an improved means of communication; and on some sections, railway service would speedily be called into requisition.

"By opening up a territorial road and erecting a line of telegraph across the country, steam and electricity, the great civilisers of the present century, would obtain a foothold on the wide, dreary, and as yet uncultivated wastes in the far interior; and although it might be said that the seeds only of the former would be sown, the latter would bear immediate fruit; time and labour would develop the former, while the latter would stimulate these agencies in their work. For many reasons it is thought that an electric telegraph ought to be erected along the precise line of the intended railway at the earliest possible moment; in addition to its value in a military and commercial aspect, as an instantaneous means of communication between the two oceans, it would aid greatly in the work of colonisation; it would enable points, isolated in other respects, to express their wants and wishes,—settlements springing into existence a hundred or a thousand miles distant, would always be aware of each other's progress, and be made acquainted with important events as they transpire; and thus the pioneer settler, although for a time remote from civilisation and its accessories, would at least feel less secluded by being within instantaneous hearing of them.

"It is part of the plan proposed that the territorial road should be constructed and improved from a rude beginning through gradual stages, in harmony with the progress of the country, to the highest degree of perfection required by traffic. It is thought that both the development of the road and the settlement of the country would in this way be much enhanced,—road work and settlement keeping pace with each other to the mutual benefit of both. . . . It is an essential part of the system proposed for opening up this vast and roadless country, that every portion of the work done should form a component part of a perfect whole, and that whatever expenditure is made, whether it be one thousand or one hundred thousand pounds, should be laid out in the right place in accordance with a thoroughly

digested and well matured plan; the great object in view being to obtain the greatest economic result from the outlay of money and labour.

"I can scarcely hope that the plan of gradual development herein advocated will satisfy the precipitate or the impatient,—those, in fact, who would urge the immediate construction of the railway, regardless or ignorant of the cost and the burdens it might in consequence entail upon the country—yet there are many who, remembering the tortoise in the fable, will perceive that a slow yet certain movement will accomplish the desired end with as much certainty and perhaps more satisfactorily than if the work was undertaken with the most sanguine hopes of speedy achievement. The line of artificial highway proposed to be constructed extends over not less than forty-five degrees of longitude, equal to one-eighth of the length of a circle of latitude passing entirely around the globe; the undertaking, therefore, is one of no ordinary magnitude, and when in connection with it, half a continent has to be redeemed in part at least, from a state of wild nature, some considerable length of time must necessarily be occupied in the process. Even if it should take a quarter of a century, which after all is but a brief period in the history of a country, it would be equal to an average construction of fully 100 miles of railway a year, and possibly the annual introduction of 100,000 emigrants.

"Were such a scheme as that proposed once adopted, and a comparatively small sum expended on the construction of a simple, even a rude, waggon road, and on the erection of an electric telegraph on the best railway line within British territory, there would be no fear, it is confidently believed, of the final result. The rude waggon road would be more than the embryo of a railway from ocean to ocean, it would be the rudimentary spinal column of a country covering no less than sixty degrees of longitude, and which, in the providence of events, may become an important power on this continent,—while the telegraph would at once resemble the spinal cord of a national nervous system which must yet ramify in many directions throughout this great division of the Colonial Empire."

Since these views were first held the circumstances have materially changed. Apart from the political and special considerations which enter into the discussion, we have acquired more accurate geographical and general information; and it would now appear that the habitable territory is considerably more extensive than was at one time supposed. In consequence, a much more comprehensive railway and road system would seem to be required and ought to be projected. Instead of a single line of railway through the fertile belt, at least two trunk lines, with cross connections and numerous branches, may ultimately be needed to serve the greater breadth of country. This does not, however, render it less important to regard the economical principles which ought to regulate the establishment of all the highways of the territory. The interior of Canada has, without any doubt whatever, a vast area of fertile soil; yet it cannot be denied that there are many

drawbacks to contend with. Some hold that the climate, especially the winter season, is one. Its great distance inland is undoubtedly another, and perhaps the most serious, and this circumstance makes it the more imperative that, to afford the fullest opportunity to successful colonisation, the lines of communication should be established on sound principles. The principles of the territorial road system, to which I have referred, appear to me so fundamental as to make them quite as applicable to-day as when they were first promulgated. The map which I have prepared shows the possible position of the leading railway lines, which, based on the information we have recently acquired, may be projected for the future services of the country. In the west, lines are shown to reach the Pacific tide water at Port Simpson, at Burrard, Bute Island, and Inlet, with an extension to Vancouver Island, running to Esquimalt, Alberni, Fort Rupert, and Quatsino. In the interior, the Bear River, Saskatchewan, Athabasca, Peace River, Lac La Biche, Swan River, Assiniboine, and Red River districts are proposed to be served by main lines or branches; while to the east lines are carried to York Factory, James's Bay, Lakes Superior, Ottawa, and a point below Quebec. Of course this is a mere projection, and it is presented to illustrate the comprehensive view which, in my opinion, should be taken of the question. All these lines, or modifications of them, I consider eligible for territorial roads; not that they should be all at once built, or even all at once surveyed, but simply to complete the scheme of great thoroughfares which in course of time may be established and used. They may at once be designated territorial road lines, and when they come to be surveyed they should be laid out with great care and forecast, having in view the most perfect line ultimately; a territorial road being understood to mean simply a railway in an incipient stage, capable of being used as a means of intercourse at all stages, its highest condition of development being a steam communication.

It may be assumed to be the desire of the Government and people of the Dominion that the great undeveloped interior of Canada should be colonised in the most successful manner possible. It could not be held to be successfully colonised unless peopled by inhabitants like themselves, hardy, self-reliant, vigorous, and determined; or unless the many thousand miles of railway required were constructed in such a way as to leave them when finished in a condition to do their work efficiently and without loss. This certainly would not be the case if, through too hasty and ill-considered construction, or through any other cause, liberal Government grants, as well as private resources, were swallowed

up, and the lines left burdened with debt which no future traffic could support or remove.

The system which I have referred to is one of evolution, and the highways would necessarily be of slow growth; the system is, nevertheless, in my judgment, one which could not fail to succeed. It is, however, purely a colonisation scheme. I am prepared to admit that there are many weighty reasons why some one of the lines projected across the continent should be pushed to completion more rapidly than colonisation purposes actually demand. I have already mentioned that the enterprise known as the Canadian Pacific Railway has been designed for a purpose beyond that of settling the vast interior of the country. One of the objects is to unite the Pacific and Atlantic coasts with a continuous line of railway without passing over foreign sea or soil.

How can I very briefly?—for I fear I have exhausted your patience—how can I in fewest words set forth the immense importance to the Empire of having a line through Canada in operation as speedily as possible?

Esquimaux, the naval station on the Pacific, and possibly the great Pacific arsenal of the future, is some four months' steaming distance from England. I venture to state that by the projected Canadian lines it would be possible to carry despatches from London to this station on the Pacific in thirteen or fourteen days, and that New Zealand could be reached in less time than it has ever yet, as far as I have learned, been reached.

The great Australian provinces must surely be interested! A railway across America on British soil must be of some moment to every British station in the North and South Pacific Oceans. It would open up a new route to India! There would probably be less nervousness felt from day to day, and from month to month, here, in the heart of the Empire, about the Eastern Question if we had an overland route through Canada. And in this view the consideration of a very simple yet important Western Question might in some degree diminish the interest felt in a very serious and complicated Eastern Question.

If it be admitted that the speedy completion of a railway across Canada is of general importance to the Colonial Empire, the question arises, Which line could be most speedily constructed, and, when established, would best subserve Imperial interests? This is the important question for present consideration and decision; as far as the colonisation of the vacant parts of Canada is concerned, it is of no great consequence which of the lines ultimately required be first completed.

The resources of Canada are perfectly competent, in some such manner as that I have described, to establish all the highways wanted for opening up the country, but it would occupy many years to effect this in a satisfactory manner. If other and higher than local interests demand a through line of railway sooner than it is locally required, it seems a reasonable suggestion that those higher interests should in some way or other assist in obtaining it. As a member of the great Colonial family, Canada very largely participates in the higher interest, and as such it cannot be doubted that she is perfectly prepared to bear her full share of the cost of establishing the communications of the Empire.

My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—I must beg your permission, before this passes out of my hands, to offer a personal explanation and apology. When first I was paid the compliment of being asked to read a paper on Canada, I felt I should best serve the Institute by declining, and thus leaving an opening for someone else more competent to do it. Subsequently the Council was good enough to urge me to undertake the duty. I should have been glad had it fallen into worthier hands, as I feel that I have been unable to do the subject I have endeavoured to bring before you anything like justice. To make matters worse, a day or two ago, when preparing my paper, I received a cable message from the Canadian Government, urgently requiring me to leave by the first steamer. As a consequence I have been much hurried. I am conscious that my paper is ill-prepared, and as I sail in twenty-four hours, before these lines can be read to you I shall, all being well, be approaching mid-Atlantic and speeding as fast as steam can take me to that country I have attempted, though imperfectly, to describe. You will probably think this a happy interruption by cutting short my remarks. I confess I have found the subject much too large for the limits of one paper. There are many points I should have wished to have touched upon. I have not even mentioned that the construction of the Pacific Railway has already made considerable progress, that the locomotive is now to be heard snorting north of Lake Superior, that the steam whistle is screaming on the shores of Lake Winnipeg, and that the telegraph, the pioneer of the railway, has advanced so far that you may send a message from almost any street corner in London to Edmonton, near the base of the Rocky Mountains. I should especially have desired to have made you better acquainted with the four millions of Canadians with whom I have intermingled for nearly a lifetime, and told you, if you need any assurance on that point, about their devotion to the old flag, their attachment to the Empire, and to the Queen. Canadians

glory in their connection with the little island across the water, they are proud of the progress they have made, and they may be pardoned for measuring their progress by comparisons. True, they may be considered an agricultural people, yet their outside trade is not trifling. They witness their shipping on the high seas with a tonnage greater than Germany, double that of Spain, and nearly three times that of Russia. If with a small section, a mere corner of Canada sparsely populated, they have already a shipping trade which makes them almost the third maritime country in the world, what may they not hope for in another half century? It cannot be doubted that Canada possesses the elements of a great future, and that in a comparatively few years she may add incalculable strength to the British Empire. Canadians cannot strictly be called Englishmen, but they are proud to be British subjects, and they are by no means unwilling to join in the trials and struggles of the mother-country. They share in the advantages of British connection, and they would feel themselves unworthy of their name did they shrink from bearing their fair share of the burden and responsibility of consolidating and maintaining the prestige and power of the Empire.

DISCUSSION.

Captain FRENCH, R.A., C.M.G. (late Commissioner North-West Mounted Police, Canada), said : The few remarks I have to make refer more particularly to the north-west territory and the province of Manitoba, with which I am acquainted. I thought it would, therefore, not be out of place my appearing here and saying a few words, especially as it is not a country generally known to the inhabitants of the British Isles. I can quite go with all that has been said in that paper with respect to the great fertility of Manitoba and the portion of the north-west territory immediately adjoining it. In 1874 I followed the line just north of the boundary line from Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains, about 800 miles. At that time I had command of a considerable force of mounted police, who were pioneers of law and order in that country. They proceeded from the province of Manitoba, which his Grace has pointed out, and you see what a particularly small place that is on the map, yet it extends through 8° longitude. After you leave the Red River for forty miles along the boundary line the country is excellent, and, like all the Red River valley, it is rich alluvial soil—in fact, the whole province is supposed to have been in ancient times the bed of a great lake. After passing the Pembina River

forty miles out, you get into a less fertile soil. I cannot go with the statement that *that* great blank space *there* (explaining on map) is land of any considerable value at all. I mean north of the boundary, the great coteau of the Missouri, it is a perfect blank on the map, and it is not worth much. That country has been very little surveyed or passed over by anybody. We have travelled in considerable force over those parts with 800 men, as many horses, and about 150 oxen, requiring considerable forage, and having great difficulty in obtaining any. After you get 260 miles out on this line from the Red River, there is no wood whatever. It may be a pastoral country, but it would trouble the people to find wood for fuel or building. Our horses and cattle died there for want of food, and I should not advise anyone to go there on a pastoral expedition. Near the Qu'Appelle river, and thence north to the Beaver Hills and Touchwood Hills, is a beautiful country. hold that you cannot in Her Majesty's dominions get such a quantity of good land within so small a compass as within the province of Manitoba, for 100 miles west of it the land is really excellent. As you approach the north Saskatchewan, there is plenty of good land and timber. The isothermal lines run north an extraordinary distance as you approach the Peace River. I am satisfied that far north, near the Rocky Mountains, wheat and other grains can be grown. The Canadian Pacific Railway has been altered from what you see on that map (south of Lake Manitoba), but unfortunately not for the better. Mr. Fleming in his remarks says that a "great railway route like this ought to be 'exhaustively surveyed' before the roads are made." I should like to read a remark out of the report laid by Mr. Fleming before the Government this last spring. It is from one of his surveyors. At page 199 of this report it says: "It was found that the Nut Hill lies to the *south* instead of to the *north* of the Assiniboine; it extends *for several miles* in a north-west and south-east direction *across the line of railway*." It would appear to me that as they were then putting up a telegraph line on the *located line* of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was a little late to find out that the Nut Hill was *south* instead of *north* of the railway. This does not look like an "exhaustive survey." As far as I know, the location of the Canadian Pacific Railway was very suddenly and hastily changed, and I regret to say it was not changed for the better. In the province of Manitoba I should imagine that you have reached about the northern limit of the growth of wheat. In that longitude, when you get up to that upper section, past the Swan River, in latitude 52°, and fully 150 miles more north than Winnipeg, you not only get more to the

north, but you get some 800 to 900 feet higher up, which height above means a considerable difference in temperature all the year round. I should like to tell you a few facts about the Swan River section. From observations taken with instruments supplied from the Observatory of Toronto, it was plainly demonstrated that the temperature fell below freezing-point *every month* of the year. During the year 1875-76 the minimum thermometer registered 30° below zero, or *lower* for eight consecutive days in January, 1876, three of the other readings being 43°, 45°, and 47° below zero. I do not regard that as anything particular, because in the winter it does not much matter, but when we have frost *every month* in the year, it is evidently not good for agricultural produce; and so we found, I may state, that *this* section (the Swan River valley and along there) is 150 miles further north than the valley of the Assiniboine, where it passes through Manitoba; in addition to being 750 to 1,200 ft. higher, a difference in altitude that, as already stated, must represent a difference of temperature of several degrees all the year round. The early oats sown in May, 1875, at Livingstone, were killed by frost; those sown a little later were frozen in August and rendered unfit for use. Wheat grew well, but was destroyed by frost. Barley and potatoes did very well. An officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had been in charge of the Swan River district, informed me in writing that from the records of their posts in the vicinity of Swan river, it appeared that *wheat did not ripen once in twenty years*. This is the country to which the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been changed. The route projected by the Government in 1873 passed south of Lake Manitoba. The present Government have changed it to the north across Lake Manitoba, and up the Swan River district. Conversing with an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company who was thoroughly well acquainted with the country between the Red River and the Saskatchewan, he expressed the opinion "that it would be impossible to construct a line of railway between those two rivers which would pass through *as much bad land* as the located line of the Canadian Pacific Railway," an opinion in which I fully concur. This particular section (Swan River) is about 700 miles from Lake Superior—from water carriage. Livingstone is 681 miles from Lake Superior, and 916 feet above it; wheat will not ripen there. If that country will not produce wheat, what grains will it produce that will pay transports of 700 miles overland to Lake Superior? If the railroad had been kept south of Lake Manitoba and the Riding Mountain, and thence north-westwards, through the Touchwood Hills, it would pass through nine-tenths of excellent land, and all that country

will produce wheat. This line would be as short and of easier construction than the projected one. Of course, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I happened to be out there as an Imperial officer temporarily employed, and I have no particular interest one way or the other, but I think it is well when men are in entirely independent positions that they should make plain statements on matters of such general interest to the public. (Hear, hear.) I do not think anything has been mentioned about the grasshopper and mosquito, which I regard as the greatest plagues of the country. This grasshopper plague was so bad in 1874 in the southern section, where settled, that many persons left the country altogether, but at the same time I think that cultivation and turning down the sod and destroying the eggs in every way will rapidly decrease that plague. The mosquitoes, for the same reason, missing the long prairie grass which was their natural cover, will also disappear. That has been the experience of the Western States; at the present time it is a terrible plague. I do not think it is well for me to worry you with further remarks, but I should like, as Professor Macoun's name has been mentioned, to quote his remarks upon the country traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railroad to the west of Lake Manitoba. I take it from Mr. Fleming's report, page 815: "The greater part of the country between the Duck, Porcupine, and Riding Mountains on the west, and Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba on the east, is very *wet and marshy*. This may be said to be the cause of *summer frosts* in that region." From what I have stated, and from this official extract, it may be inferred how unsuitable for settlement is the greater portion of the land adjoining the *located* line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, between the Red River and the Saskatchewan. There are now no settlers near *that* line, though along the southern route which I have indicated it is thickly settled for the first 100 miles from Winnipeg, and numbers of farmers were taking up land in 1876 nearly 200 miles west of Winnipeg. As an independent man, I must state if the northern route is persevered in, it will be a great calamity for Canada.

Lieut.-General Sir H. LEFROY, K.C.M.G.: My lord duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—When I heard the gallant officer who has just addressed the meeting, I could not but recall sentiments very much indeed to the same effect which it fell to my lot to express, I think, at this Society several years ago, and which I know met with universal reprobation. They were not believed, and I felt myself in a somewhat uncomfortable position for venturing to say in the face of the enthusiasm which greeted the proposal for a trans-

continental railway at that time, that there would be those drawbacks which Captain French has pointed out. At the same time I am bound to say that, looking to the great length of time which has elapsed—a third of a century—since I left that country, I do not feel so qualified to express an opinion now. The progress it has made, and its promise for the future, is something which no imagination could have then conceived. (Hear, hear.) I left the territory in the year 1844, by no means in a railway carriage, but by a birch-bark canoe, which had been paddled by the same hands some 7,000 miles. A district where we could scarcely grow potatoes, and where I have seen mercury frozen as hard as a stone, has since sent magnificent wheat to the Philadelphia Exhibition. (Hear, hear.) I think we are not yet fully informed as to what influence the processes of civilisation and of cultivation may have towards improving a climate. As to that plague the grasshopper, opinions differ much as to the frequency with which it may be expected; some say it comes every thirteen, some every thirty years, and some even as often as every third. It comes too often, at any rate, for the husbandman; it may, however, very possibly give way before the processes of agriculture. I believe that if the settlement of the country is only advanced in the spirit of prudence and modesty, and moderation, which I may be permitted to say has characterised Mr. S. Fleming's paper, which I have listened to with great interest, there is a splendid future for those regions. Mr. Fleming has carefully avoided drawing a too highly-coloured picture, and, having known him for thirty years, I must say that there is no man on whom I place more reliance and confidence for sound judgment. Misrepresentations respecting that region have not come from him, but from speculators, who seldom face the hardships to which they invite other people, and who have endeavoured to attract into it industry from this country which might have been much better attracted to other quarters. Let the process of settlement be gradual, let those go there who are prepared by their birth and antecedents for the life of a backwoodsman, and before long we may hope to see teeming thousands all over the place; but do not force it. You may take over the Icelanders and Mennonites in any numbers; to them it cannot but be gain. The population taken there fifty or sixty years ago were Orkney men and Highlanders of Scotland, used to the same description of life, and they soon found a home; but it is a different thing when we come to take over agricultural labourers from our own districts to—I was going to say to this inhospitable, but that is hardly the term to use—to this severe and trying climate. If Mr. Fleming's

"Territorial Roads" scheme can be carried out by the Dominion Government, if they will be content to walk before they essay to run, I really believe there is scarcely any limit to what we may hope to see realised. Let me call attention to the figures mentioned by Mr. Fleming. He spoke, I think, of one hundred and sixty millions of acres of land supposed to be more or less capable of grazing and cultivation. Now, it is impossible for the mind to conceive what one hundred and sixty million acres are. But let me put it to you in this way. Suppose the country marked out like a chess-board, in squares of a mile each way; it would take a quarter of a million of men to put one upon every square. Such is the verge and space which is offered in that region for settlement. If settlers prepared by their antecedents to find happiness in it can be attracted there, Divine Providence has given to the English race a magnificent inheritance in this land. It is our duty and our destiny to occupy it, and I do not suppose that any permanent obstacle stands in the way; but gigantic undertakings, which so often become gigantic failures, are not the surest path to success. Time, however, may have great destinies in store for what is now a wilderness. I hope it, and I firmly believe it. (Applause.)

Sir BRYAN ROBINSON (late Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland): I have heard with much pleasure that interesting paper—that epitome of Canadian life, character, and resources which has been read by the Hon. Secretary, and I may add, so well read. The learned engineer, whose absence we deplore, has laid the whole of British North America under a debt of gratitude, not merely for the labours he has undergone, but for the record of them he has embodied in the valuable paper which he has left behind him. (Hear, hear.) When I heard the gallant officer who first spoke differing in details from Mr. Fleming, and professing to support his views by statistics, I was reminded of an observation made by the late Mr. Canning, that with the exception of "facts nothing was more calculated to mislead than statistics." Now, it is always well to hear two sides of the story; nevertheless, in spite of all that has been said by the gallant captain, I do believe that wheat *will grow* in Canada, and I do firmly believe that Canada has within its womb the germs of a great nation; for a great nation it cannot fail to be, with its enormous territorial extent, its capability of producing the necessaries of life in such boundless quantities, with its healthy climate and its Anglo-Saxon population, with British institutions and a love of liberty; it must, with such advantages, go ahead. It has been supposed that Canada has

not kept pace proportionately with her great sister, the United States. If I were not afraid of referring to statistics, I would venture to say that it can be proved beyond doubt that Canada has not only kept pace with, but has surpassed in her development the advance of the United States, and that it is destined to afford a home to British subjects, who will not better their lot by joining their Republican neighbours. I am sorry that Mr. Fleming is not here to-night to hear the remarks that have been made by Sir Henry Lefroy and others on a country in which he has spent the greater portion of his life, and which has been the object of his industry and ability. (Hear, hear.) We who live at home at ease cannot readily estimate the hardships which a surveyor has undergone who has explored the wilds of Canada and of Newfoundland. (Hear, hear.) Most of his journeys, especially his earlier ones, were made in summer, and the sufferings to be endured at that season by reason of heat and mosquitoes are not to be lightly regarded. It has been said that if the spirit of the Evil One were allowed to be incarnated for the punishment of our sins, he could not assume a body more effective than that of a North American mosquito. (Laughter.) It is throughout these summer months, when the heat is almost tropical and mosquitoes awful, that these explorations have been made by Mr. Fleming and his associates. The only portion of British North America that is not included in the Dominion of Canada is Newfoundland. Opinions in that Colony differ as to the expediency of joining Canada, and good reasons can be urged on both sides. My own opinion is that in unity is strength, and that it would be wise of Newfoundland to unite herself upon proper terms. There are two opinions upon what terms are reasonable, and I have no doubt that when the statesmen of Canada and of Newfoundland shall dispassionately consider the question, a satisfactory solution will be reached. The large island of Newfoundland stands between England and America nearly midway; it is as large as Great Britain, it abounds in excellent harbours, it occupies a position which gives it the key of the St. Lawrence; its waters teem with fish, its land with minerals; it possesses a hardy and loyal population, which is just what the Canadians as a nation would want to man their fleet. When they shall have become one of the Powers of the world, nature prescribes Newfoundland to be the necessary complement of Canada, and the wisdom of Canadian legislation would be to offer such terms to that Colony as would bring the two together. The sooner that conjuncture takes place the better. The sense of the country has always been in favour of it upon adequate terms, and

the union will not much longer be delayed when the interests of both countries shall demand confederation. The paper just read will help forward such an union, and I only regret that the author was not present to lend the attractions of a *visà voce* delivery to the intrinsic merits of his history. (Cheers.)

Dr. RAE : I can say only a very few words on the subject which has been so well and so eloquently described in Mr. Sandford Fleming's paper. I think it one of the clearest and most modest descriptions I have ever heard, for there is nothing beyond a plain statement of facts. There is some difference of opinion as to the action of frost on the crops in that large tract of country, but I may tell you that far to the north, on the Mackenzie river, fully 700 miles beyond or north of the line marked out for the Canada Pacific Railway, barley and potatoes almost always ripen well, and would be less affected by frost if the woods were cleared away to a greater distance, which the Hudson's Bay Company's people have no time to do, and clear no more ground than sufficient for their own use. At Fort Liand, 550 miles north of the railway route, barley and potatoes, with many other vegetables, grow well, and wheat also generally ripens. Cultivation and drainage also help to get rid of those fearful tormentors the mosquitoes, whose powers of annoyance a gentleman has just now so well described. Close to the Arctic circle I have seen them so numerous that they made a noise like the swarming of bees ; we could not eat our food without swallowing some of them, and the reindeer rushed into the water, and to protect themselves left nothing but their noses above the surface. I have known them to make a very good Wesleyan clergyman almost swear—(laughter)—which I thought a sure sign of the very acme of suffering, a sort of martyrdom, in fact. This worthy man used to tell me that mosquitoes were sent as a punishment for our sins, on which I said it was curious that they annoyed him, one of the "unco" good, more than they did a poor sinner like myself. Mr. Fleming has alluded to the dangerous rapids of the Fraser River. After crossing the Rocky Mountains in command of a telegraph survey through the pass chosen for the Pacific Railway—the latitude of which I corrected to the extent of twelve or thirteen miles, and found the altitude very nearly the same as afterwards more minutely measured by the surveyors—I descended the Fraser in small dug-out canoes about eighteen inches wide. When my men learnt that the usual Indian guides could not go with us, those who had been engaged to accompany me refused to go, and I had to be beat up for recruits, threatening to go myself if no one would volunteer ; fortunately two smart young fellows did, and we ran all

the bad rapids as far as Fort Alexander. Some of these were long and very dangerous, so much so, that at one of them, where we met an Indian and his wife, the latter was in an agony of fear although her husband *only* was to run the rapid, she remaining on shore. It was curious and exciting to see the men in the leading little dug-out, sitting, as it were, in the turmoil of waters (for the canoe was not visible), as we (my man and myself) followed close in their wake. There was a charm in the whole thing that was very pleasurable. The people at the forts we arrived at were surprised at our having got down in safety without guides, and in such small craft. Our little half-breed leader, Kenny McKenzie, was a cool and practised canoeman, and guided us sometimes with consummate skill and nerve within a very few feet of almost certain death. I may add that all along the north bank of the north branch of the Saskatchewan, the soil is very rich, and we were riding through vetches or wild peas up to our horses' knees a great part of the way. On the whole I agree very fully with Mr. Fleming's favourable report of the country, and believe that the chief drawbacks, namely, grasshoppers, mosquitoes, and frosts, will become ameliorated by colonisation and cultivation.

Mr. HADDAN: I believe this railway across the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean is obliged to be made, because its construction forms one of the conditions by which British Columbia was joined to the Canadian confederation. A railway of some sort must be made somehow. Both the author and Captain French have told you that even the districts to be traversed by it are not surveyed yet, and that the country is of the roughest, and in many places uncultivable. I fancy, therefore, it will be difficult to get persons to invest in such a speculation, especially as not a week since Mr. Fawcett, M.P., demonstrated, that even Indian State railways had not returned one per cent. interest on the capital expended. The picture on the wall represents a view of the Pioneer, or one-legged railway, a structure which, as you perceive, is made entirely of timber, and possesses no earthworks or masonry of any description. It requires 4,500 cubic feet of timber per mile, and its cost would not exceed £600 complete, while in twenty months the whole line, from ocean to ocean, could be constructed, and it can easily be constructed by 200 men at the rate of two miles daily. Railways, as we understand them, are permanent structures, and therefore not suitable for a tentative line like the Interoceanic Railway, for an earthwork railway once made cannot be altered. Nor can a narrow gauge be turned into a broad gauge, nor, as suggested by the author, can territorial roads be constructed

with the view to their conversion into railways later on, since carriage roads take a much more direct route than railways can possibly follow, and, what is more, cost more to keep in order. The Pioneer, or steam caravan, has but one rail elevated on stout posts at about three feet above the ground, the carriage or panniers ride astride it and do not touch the ground, which is therefore left intact. Nature resents earthworks of every description, therefore the Pioneer avoids them altogether,—no small advantage in a country where labour is wanted for better things. People laugh at its appearance because they are not accustomed to it, but what can be more calculated to provoke derision than our system of railways, where to obtain a few inches of level road to run upon (about ten inches for a double line) engineers deem it a *sine qua non* that forty or fifty feet of earthwork should be levelled. The Pioneer uses one rail to run upon, and does not level the ground at all. Which, therefore, is the most sensible? Again, our engines demand weight as pulling power, and the steeper the line the heavier the engine our engineers require. On the Crystal Palace Line of the Chatham and Dover Railway, a purely passenger line, the engines actually weigh fifty tons, and the rails and bridges of course have to be made to support this leviathan. The Pioneer engine abolishes the necessity of using weights for obtaining pulling power, the engine being fitted with horizontal wheels, which grip the side of the fence-like structure. Thus it can climb a mountain side, and go as the crow flies, taking behind it a train of 100 tons, while on such grades an ordinary train would have become all engine. Mr. Fleming insists, very properly, on cheap working expenses as meaning more than cheap first cost, and it is by avoiding weight that the Pioneer can carry goods at about half the cost of an ordinary railway. While resident in Turkey some ten years, I had daily the problem to solve of how to make a railway in no time, without any money to speak of, and still everything to be strong and substantial; and it was this training which has enabled me to come down from our high estate of saloon carriages and Pullman cars, to devise a system of steam caravan suited to the pockets of poor and vast continents who, in the usual course of events, might never see a railway at all. Surely in such countries it is not at all profitable to spend the time of men in cutting off the tops of mountains and filling the valleys with them, especially as the worse the mountains are, the fewer the inhabitants available to perform the operation. It is surely absurd to propose such unnecessary work in Canada, or to employ cattle for dragging carts over roads which cannot be kept in order, since Mr. Fleming states there are

but 30,000 settlers along the whole line of 1,500 miles. Machines are invented by the score to save some details of labour, but the Pioneer saves man and beast the drudgery of portage, and sets them free to develop Canada into a granary for the mother-country.

Mr. CORNELIUS WALFORD: I have been disappointed in the course the discussion has taken this evening. I thought with regard to the development of the resources of Canada we should be told more about what could be done than what could not be done. I take it that in a country like Canada you have to look, not, to the grain-growing property of the soil, where there are no inhabitants to consume the cereals grown, but rather to the natural products of the soil; and there seems to me only two modes in which the Canadian Pacific Railway can be materially helped forward. The first would be by the development of the mineral products on the Pacific side—and here I may say that I am familiar with the mining districts of California, and there is no doubt that the Union Pacific Railway of the United States could not have been rendered a paying enterprise, and would never have been made in our time, but for the mineral resources which California has opened up. We know that if the Canadian Pacific Railway is ever to be made with due regard to profits, it must be from the development and working of the mineral products of British Columbia; and I take it that in a few years sufficient could be done in this respect, assuming proper facilities on the part of the Government, to raise the population in those districts. And if the railways are made there at all it must be with due regard to profit. But to make a railway through that desolate country—through 1,500 or 1,800 miles of country in which it would be almost impossible to get people to settle—is a hopeless and futile task. There is one way in which some of the valleys might be utilised in the north-east, and that is by producing cattle for the English market. Already a large amount of live stock is being sent to this country from Eastern Canada, and it falls entirely within the objects of this meeting—which is to develop the resources of Canada—to consider whether this proposal be a practical one. I say then, in regard to cattle supply, that there is an opening at once; and if those vast plains could be utilised for that purpose, there would be the direct advantage in making a railway to bring the cattle down to the east ports, and in the meantime a population would be growing. It is a population, and the supplying the wants of such population, and the development of these natural resources of the country by making its products available for the world at large, that alone can make a railway such as this at once a necessity and a commercial success. I say with the cattle trade on

one side, and the mineral wealth on the other, we should see substantial reasons for making this railway, the dream of Canada, and it must be realised before Canada can be the country we hope to see it. (Hear, hear.)

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A. : With regard to the wheat and the animal products of Canada, I think it might be useful to notice some considerations. We have heard a good deal about the local interests of Canada with respect to these ; we have heard of the vast plains capable in one way or the other of great development and their influence upon the many millions of people that can be accommodated there in the future. I would wish to draw attention to the state of affairs as they appear to me to affect the United Kingdom at the present time. Any question that turns upon the production of wheat, or of the means of human sustenance, must be one of importance to every inhabitant of these islands. I will give one fact which may bring this more vividly before you. In the seven years ending in 1840, the total foreign importation of wheat into this country was six million quarters. If you take seven years ending 1877, you will find that we required 870,000,000, quarters : you will see that by the last statistical return, which has been a very remarkable document, brought out last month and furnished to the Government of Washington. If we come to Canada alone, we find that in 1873 the total value of wheat she gave us from all sources and kinds of exports was \$88,700,000. If you analyse the articles supplied by the Dominion, you find that more than one-half were articles of food necessary for the people of this country. There were the produce of the fisheries and the animals and agricultural products. And if you take the year 1877, you will find it very much the same, and observe a remarkable increase in the quantity of animal produce introduced into this country. Therefore, I think, that this Pacific Railway, and everything that concerns the development of that region, putting aside all other questions, is surely a matter that does vitally concern not only Canada, but the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) I was much struck on reading in the papers the other day a letter from Sir Samuel Baker. I am not going to trespass upon political or military grounds with reference to the present crisis ; it drew attention to the important fact of the dependence of this country for its grain. What Sir Samuel called the natural granaries of the earth he represented to be chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Danube and in the United States ; and, having shown the great necessity of keeping open our means of communication with such places, he pointed out that in certain events we should be in great

difficulties with regard to our food. The point I want to bring out to you is, what was the alternative? It was not to look to our own dominions, it was not to draw attention to the fertile lands waiting for cultivation by English hands, but the alternative proposition to get us out of our difficulties was that we should persuade Egypt to grow wheat. I think it would be advantageous if this Institute would look into these questions, and consider a little more what are our own necessities in these islands, coupled with the fact that, with a rapidly increasing population, there are 800,000 acres less under cultivation in England now than there were twenty years ago. The population is increasing, and it is well to bear in mind that, taking the inhabitants of these islands at 98,000,000, 15,000,000 in these islands are wholly and solely dependent for their food upon what we can get across the sea. If we are to be self-reliant and self-supporting, it does appear to me that the development of the lands in our hands is a question not concerning a particular district, but the Empire, and particularly the people of this kingdom. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT, in summing up the proceedings, said: I should like to remark upon what Captain French said. I have no doubt he spoke sincerely and truly in what he observed, but I should hope that he was not fortunate in the season in which he made those observations, because I agree with Sir Henry Lefroy that Mr. Sandford Fleming's character and manner impress one most strongly with the conviction of the truth of what he says and the soundness of his opinions. (Hear, hear.) He has been very cautious, I should say, in the statement he has made, and I should think he never made a statement without being justified in making it, and that he did so without any exaggeration whatever. (Hear, hear.) You will have noticed, probably, in the paper read—and he has mentioned the facts with perhaps greater detail in "Ocean to Ocean," a book describing his journeys across the Continent, and I am quite sure that he has good and sufficient grounds for what he has stated—in speaking of the country which he travelled over, between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, he said there were 800 million acres of land, about 150 millions of which were profitable for farming, tillage, or grazing. Of that, 80 millions was fit for tillage; and he remarks that 47 million acres is the extent of the United Kingdom, including water and land of all sorts—47 million acres being very little more than half of what is supposed to be fit for tillage in this district. As to the climate, I think from what I have heard of it—I have not experienced a Canadian winter, but I have always heard from everybody who

has been there that individuals do not suffer from cold—that the crops in most parts of it do not suffer, as the seasons are very regular. The snow forms a sort of blanket to the earth; it melts from the heat of the sun, which is very strong, in a comparatively short time, and vegetation is remarkably rapid when the spring sets in. I hope it will prove to be so. Dr. Rae has told us to hope that it would be so in most parts of the country in that district to which allusion has been made. In conclusion, I think we may all feel satisfied that Mr. Sandford Fleming has favoured us with so very clever a paper, and we may congratulate the Dominion of Canada on having the services of so experienced a person and so able a man as he is. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that anything he recommends will be wisely recommended, and would be wisely carried out, and be for the benefit of the Dominion of Canada and of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) I quite agree with the remarks made by some gentleman, who said this is not merely a Canadian question, but an Imperial matter, and I only wish there was the slightest hope of the Chancellor of the Exchequer being able to contribute towards the cost of a railroad for bringing grain here from those countries. I beg to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Sandford Fleming for the paper, and to Mr. Frederick Young for reading it. (Loud applause.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: On Mr. Sandford Fleming's behalf I beg to thank you sincerely for the compliment you have paid him. It will be my agreeable duty to convey your thanks to him, which I am sure he will thoroughly appreciate. It has been a matter of great regret to me that he was not here this evening to read his own paper. When I invited him, on behalf of the Institute, to undertake to give us a paper on Canada, I had no idea he would be so suddenly called away from England on public duty by the Dominion Government, but I am sure I can heartily join with those who have expressed their gratification with the paper I have had the pleasure of reading. I sincerely rejoice the Royal Colonial Institute has obtained such a valuable and important contribution to its archives from the pen of an individual so distinguished as Mr. Fleming is in connection with the Dominion.

The meeting then concluded.

TO FREDK. YOUNG, ESQ., HON. SEC. ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

DEAR SIR,—Before I left Ottawa the other day I received a copy of *The Colonies and India*, containing a report of the discussion on a paper on Canada which I prepared before leaving England a few weeks ago, and which in my absence you were good enough to read on my behalf.

Had it been my good fortune to have been present at the meeting when my paper was discussed, I would, in all probability, have been granted the usual privilege of replying to any gentleman who spoke. My absence was unexpected and unavoidable; I trust, therefore, I may be permitted to address you, as I wish to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of clearing up some statements which were made in the discussion and with which I do not wholly agree.

The first speaker was Colonel French. His remarks, as reported, are to my mind somewhat misleading, and therefore I feel it my duty to direct attention to what he said, and endeavour to correct any erroneous impression which his statements may have conveyed. I do not wish it to be understood that I would charge that gentleman with intentionally misleading the meeting; he doubtless spoke exactly as he felt, and, having visited Canada and made a journey of considerable length through a portion of the country, he was entitled to consider himself an authority. I respectfully submit, however, that a proper judgment on the whole of Canada cannot possibly be formed on the personal observations of that gentleman alone. Colonel French's journey was mainly confined to a trip from Manitoba, along or near the United States boundary line to Belly River, returning in the same general direction to Old Woman's Lake, thence by the Touchwood Hills and Livingstone to Manitoba. If we except Manitoba and the Touchwood Hill country, respecting the fertility of both of which he speaks in favourable terms, his journey was through the barren district, along the boundary-line, and he had no opportunity whatever of seeing the vast fertile region stretching away far to the north and west of where he travelled. A foreigner visiting England for the first time, if he disembarked at Land's End, travelling through the heart of Cornwall, through the wild moors of Devonshire, and saw nothing of the lovely garden counties of the country, would form an impression far from favourable. If he attempted a description of the agricultural capabilities of the whole land and relied on his own limited observations, he would be apt to describe Great Britain as an almost barren and

inhospitable island. Has not Colonel French in some degree committed this mistake with respect to Canada ?

In my brief general description I endeavoured to draw information from every available source. I alluded to a long list of authorities who at different times during the past hundred years have explored various parts of the northern portion of the continent, men whose veracity cannot be questioned, and whose united testimony establish beyond any doubt whatever the fertility of soil and generally favourable character of vast regions in the interior of Canada. In weighing the evidence for and against, we place in one scale the views of Colonel French, in the other we have the reports, descriptions, and opinions of all the travellers I have alluded to, stamped by the high authority of the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Dufferin.

Colonel French thought it incumbent upon him to condemn the location of a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, vide the following extracts :—

“ The Canadian Pacific Railway has been altered from what you see on that map (south of Lake Manitoba), but unfortunately not for the better. . . . ”

“ As far as I know, the location of the Canadian Pacific Railway was very suddenly and hastily changed, and I regret to say it was not changed for the better. . . . ”

“ This is the country to which the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been changed ; the route projected by the Government in 1873 passed south of Lake Manitoba. The present Government have changed it to the north, across Lake Manitoba and up the Swan River district. . . . ”

“ If the railroad had been kept south of Lake Manitoba and the Riding Mountains, and thence north-westwards through the Touchwood Hills, it would pass through nine-tenths of excellent land, and all that country would produce wheat. This line would be as short and of easier construction than the projected one. Of course I wish it distinctly to be understood that I happened to be out there as an Imperial officer temporarily employed, that I have no particular interest one way or the other ; but I think it is well, when men are in entirely independent positions, that they should make plain statements on matters of such general interest to the public. . . . ”

“ As an independent man I must state that, if the northern route is persevered in, it will be a great calamity for Canada.”

Thus Colonel French went entirely beyond the scope of the subject brought before the Institute to attack the location of that

portion of the Pacific Railway lying between the Red River and the Saskatchewan River; and I am constrained, alike as the author of the paper and the chief engineer of the railway, to notice the attack. Indeed, I feel that I would be entirely wanting in my duty to the Canadian Government, to the Canadian public, to the Royal Colonial Institute, and to myself, did I allow the statements made to go unchallenged.

The work of survey began in 1871; it has been conducted by me from the beginning to the present time; no man, therefore, has had more to do with it than I have, and I do not shrink from the defence of everything that has been done under my supervision and direction. The calamity which Colonel French proclaims, if it be one, may be entirely chargeable to me, and I am perfectly willing to assume the full blame and responsibility attached to it.

In conducting the explorations and surveys, I have constantly kept in view the discovery of a line for the railway from one side of the continent to the other, which, while it passed in a generally central direction to the great bodies of fertile land, would at the same time prove the most permanently advantageous in other respects, taking into account ease of construction and the development and concentration of traffic; having also special regard to what in the near future will probably be considered the most important of all questions to the country—viz. the question of cheap transportation.

A short time after the survey was commenced circumstances called for the projection of an experimental or preliminary line. As the survey progressed from year to year, and fresh information was acquired, it was found that the preliminary line, although passing through much good land, did not fulfil all the required conditions. It was found that a much more eligible site for the railway, everything considered, was obtainable. The latter passes to the north of the preliminary line, and, being so much more favourable, it was on my recommendation adopted. It appears that Colonel French does not approve of the change, and considering himself competent to judge without knowing the reasons why the change was made—without the advantage of special information or any special qualifications for judging that I am aware of—he denounces the selected line in a most unqualified manner, and strongly advocates the preliminary line. He is altogether mistaken in supposing that the northern and better line was “suddenly and hastily adopted.” It is the result of laborious surveys, made at great cost and extending over years, and in selecting it it cannot truthfully be affirmed that every important public interest was

lightly considered. I must, however, do Colonel French the justice to state that he is not the first person who has found fault with the selection. It will be necessary for me to explain that the public land along the selected line has for the present been reserved for railway and general purposes, while the land through which the preliminary line passed has for some time been laid out for sale and settlement, and has actually been taken up by great numbers of people, either settlers or speculators. In consequence of this it will be apparent that the selected line has no one personally interested in its construction, while the preliminary line has many interested advocates. The construction of the railway near the land of each holder would greatly enhance the value of each acre, and benefit them. Those who have thus acquired land have more that once combined to defeat the adoption of the proper line, and as a final effort, they brought the matter before a committee of the Canadian Parliament. Many witnesses were examined; the question was most carefully investigated; a whole year elapsed in sifting it to the bottom. The effort was finally, however, abandoned. Every disinterested person who took trouble to trace step by step the reasons which led to the adoption of the selected route came to but one conclusion regarding it; and thus all the attacks upon the location of the line have resulted in signal failure.

The Canadian Government cannot desire to have the railway placed in the wrong position; they are most anxious that no mistakes may be made in its location, and hence the great pains taken and the large amount of money expended for a number of years back in examining the country in all directions. The staff of engineers who have been employed on the work of exploration and survey have been zealously engaged in endeavouring to meet the wishes of the Government. They have striven earnestly to discover the most eligible site for the railway that can be made in the whole country. Surely after years of labour and patient investigation these men are in possession of reliable information, and are better able to judge than other persons who can only give the subject a passing thought.

Colonel French says that he is an Imperial officer who has been temporarily employed in the country without any particular interest one way or the other, and he conveys the impression that, as an independent public-spirited man, he raises the question of the location of the railway only for public good. This is a most praiseworthy position to take, but I think it is to be regretted that he did not make himself better acquainted with the facts before committing himself so decidedly to views which are entirely wrong. I am

satisfied that any gentleman of good standing and common sense, who would take the trouble to investigate the question properly, could come to no other conclusion than that the Canadian Government have adopted the proper route, and that in the public interests it would be a serious mistake if they were to act on the opinion and gratuitous advice which Colonel French tendered at the meeting when my paper was read.

It is difficult to conceive that a high-minded Imperial officer would in the slightest degree be influenced by personal considerations in a matter involving such important public interests as the location of a highway for the Empire across a continent. On the authority of Colonel Stoughton Dennis, Surveyor-General, the officer in charge of all the lands in the interior, it would appear that Colonel French has for himself, or for members of his family, acquired several farm lots near the preliminary line,—property which would be greatly enhanced in value by the construction of the railway on the route advocated by the latter gentleman. This circumstance may not in the least influence his opinions; but it is rather unfortunate that he should have repeatedly assured the meeting that he is totally disinterested. It is still more to be regretted that a gentleman in his position should go out of his way to denounce the proper route, and make a perfectly futile attempt to have the railway constructed in the wrong position.

Colonel French charges me with making no mention of the grasshoppers and mosquitoes, which he regards as the greatest plagues of the country. With respect to this omission I may say that there were many more important matters that I should have wished to have noticed, but it was utterly impossible to allude to everything within the limits of a short paper. The subject I attempted to deal with is a very large one, and it would, indeed, require volumes to furnish details of every matter of interest connected with it.

The grasshoppers have occasionally visited a portion of Canada, but there are many districts where they have never done the slightest harm. Indeed, the greater extent of Canada has, as far as I have learnt, ever been free from any injurious results. With regard to that portion of the country, Manitoba, where the grasshoppers have at times done mischief, it is at least no worse than that portion of Europe, the magnificent soil of which has long produced vast quantities of Black Sea wheat for exportation to England.

Taking the whole of Canada into consideration, it must be borne in mind that the Dominion may be compared in size with nearly

all Europe. It would therefore be equally fair to speak of the grasshopper as being a general European plague, because it commits occasional ravages in parts of Russia, Roumania, and Austria.

With regard to mosquitoes, they are in some parts of Canada in some seasons more or less troublesome, and may be classed among the smaller difficulties which pioneer settlers must encounter. But what country is entirely free from drawbacks? I think I could mention other important divisions of the Empire, such as Australia, which have not only troublesome insects, but centipedes, poisonous snakes, and other venomous reptiles, totally unknown in Canada. In some of the United States rattlesnakes and copperheads prevail. In many of the old civilised countries mosquitoes are not the only pests; in parts of Southern Europe it is well known that scorpions, venomous adders, and tarantulas are common, and yet people live and enjoy life in Spain, France, and sunny Italy.

Colonel French alluded to the occurrence of summer frosts on the Porcupine Duck, and Riding Mountains. There never has been the slightest attempt to conceal this or any other drawback. The summer frosts are referred to in my report of last year, page 815. Parts of all countries are subject to climatic peculiarities. If the farmers of the British Isles were appealed to, I am sure even they could support me in this statement. It cannot be forgotten that only last season the crops in some of the most highly cultivated counties in Scotland almost rotted in the ground, it having rained every day for some six or seven weeks. I myself saw late in November, in the rich county of Fife, unharvested grain, with some inches of snow on the ground.

I have now, I think, dealt with every point raised, and I may be permitted to say in conclusion, that in viewing Canada as a future home for millions, we must not look only at the drawbacks, far less should we unfairly exaggerate them. The advantages which the country possesses should also be considered and a balance struck. There is an immense breadth of fertile land to be occupied before any of the less-favoured regions need be thought of. The mosquitoes that exist in some sections will, I fear, have to be endured for some time to come, but they may not seriously retard settlement. We have much to contend with in a new country without magnifying small insects into undue importance. The man who lacks courage to do battle against a mosquito had better allow others to precede him. We require pioneers of sterner stuff in Canada. A few generations hence, when millions of hardy

human beings have taken the place of herds of buffalo and bands of beaver, when mosquitoes may almost be forgotten, then the tender and the timid may follow. For the present, only courageous and vigorous men and women of any race or creed are invited to Canada. They are invited to lay the foundations of her strength, to mould her future greatness, and enable her to extend and perpetuate British institutions on a portion of the northern temperate zone scarcely inferior in size to the continent of Europe. For some time to come those who emigrate to Canada must make up their minds to think little of minor difficulties, and to work with all their might in whatever sphere of life they may occupy. There is no place at present for the idle or the effeminate.

In concluding these too lengthy remarks, I desire to express my deep regret that I was not present during the discussion on my paper. I should have wished to have promptly met the statements that were made, and to which I have now referred. While I doubt the propriety of the course taken by one Imperial officer on that occasion, it must not be thought that I object in the slightest to any person giving free expression to his mind. I feel that the more the subject I so imperfectly submitted to the Institute is discussed, the better it will be for general, as well as for Canadian, interests. Speaking for Her Majesty's subjects beyond the sea, and more especially for Canadians, the view is held that the British Empire is as little limited to the British Islands as British influence is limited to the British Empire. The Empire is fast spreading in population and in power in every quarter of the globe; long before the great American division of it becomes fully developed, and every acre of its fertile soil be tilled like the fields of England, the strength of Canada will be felt and appreciated. Canadians are fully alive to the fact that they live under the freest and best system of government on the face of the earth; they feel that they have a rich inheritance; and they look forward to the period when Canada will be considered scarcely less indispensable to the whole fabric of the British Empire than the small, yet vastly important, group of islands of which this marvellous city forms the social and political centre.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

16, *Durham Villas, Kensington, London, W.*

June 8th, 1878.

SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, May 14th, 1878. In the absence of the President, Mr. HENRY BLAINE, Member of the Council, occupied the chair.

Amongst those present were the following: Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G. (late Governor of the Cape Colony), General Sir Arthur A. T. Cunynghame, K.C.B. (late Commander of the Forces at the Cape and Lieut-Governor), Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Mr. Anthony Trollope, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Stewart (Cape Colony), Dr. Langham Dale (Superintendent-General of Education, Cape of Good Hope), the Right Rev. Bishop Perry, D.D. (late of Melbourne), Rev. C. F. Stovin, Messrs. George Dundas, C.M.G. (Lieut-Governor of St. Vincent, West Indies), Leonard Courtney, M.P.; Ludvick Cameron (Cape Colony), J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria), A. R. Campbell-Johnston, G. P. Moodie (Transvaal), David Rodger, John H. Watson, J. Duncan Thomson (Cape Colony), Hugh Muir, John Robb, Harley Bacon, Hugh Jamieson, Charles H. Waller, Thomas Baynes (Antigua, West Indies), Charles Bishoff, J. Henwood Thomas, H. W. Freeland, Arthur William Marriott, Mr. Gisborne Molineux and Miss Molineux, Messrs. J. Stiebel, Samuel Messiter, C. E. Henley, John Peet, Thomas F. Quin (West Africa), F. P. Labilliere, M. B. Isaacs, F. G. Gill (Barbadoes), F. J. Angier, Richard Ramsden, Jacob L. Montefiore, Miss E. Skeffington Thompson, Miss Watt, Mr. W. H. Dale (Cape Colony), Mr. Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., Mr. C. G. Shuter, Miss M. Macleod, Miss C. Macleod, Messrs. Elliott S. Currey, C. Searle, John P. Syms, G. W. Syms, Miss Wehrung, Miss Martin, Messrs. W. Bennett, George W. Stewart, Mr. Arthur L. Young and Miss Young, Messrs. George Garnett, John Green, Mr. and Mrs. Brandford Griffith (Barbadoes), Messrs. J. Beaumont, Henry J. Jourdain, Mrs. Roche, Mr. and Mrs. C. Bethell, Messrs. John Marshall, W. T. Deverell (Victoria), S. W. Silver, John Byron, T. Widgery, Philip Capel Hanbury, J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), Robert Lacy, A. Forkin, Mrs. Cary Hobson, Messrs. John Sanderson (Natal), W. Sanderson (Natal), D. P. Wood, J. V. H. Irwin, R. E. Nicolson, Mr. and Mrs. John A'Deane (New Zealand), Rev. J. E. Carlyle (Maritzburg, Natal), Revs. A. Moriend, John Findlay, R. Ryall (Cape Colony), F. J. Thomas, Dr. A. Bissett Thom (Manitoba, Canada), Mr. and Mrs. Westgarth, Mrs. E. M. Barry, Messrs. A. E. Coffee, R. D. Jackson, H. D. Glooy, C. N. Cox, William Downes Griffith (Cape Colony), Henry F. Shipster, J. H. Greathead (Cape Colony), Godfrey William Ferguson, F. E. Metcalfe (New Zealand), G. O. Metcalfe, E. A. Suwerkrop (California), Miss Tack, Messrs. Hall Bevan, C. J. Hunt (late M.L.C. Natal), William Anderson, Thomas Bradman, John Payne, Mr. Frederick B. Garseh and Mrs. Garseh, Messrs. H. B. T. Strangways, C. H. Dickinson (Natal), &c.

The Minutes of the Sixth Ordinary General Meeting were confirmed, and the HONORARY SECRETARY then read the following paper, by JOHN ROBINSON, Esq., M.L.C., of Natal, entitled—

GLIMPSES OF NATAL.

My purpose to-night is to tell you as much as I can within the time allotted concerning the British Colony of Natal. Will you forgive me when, before proceeding to do so, I ask you to turn back the page of history four centuries, to a date which, from a Colonial standpoint, represents a hoar antiquity—to the Christmas of 1487? When the 25th of December that year burst in summer glory upon the South Indian Sea, two high-sterned Spanish caravels were seen, worn by much contest with the weather and the waves, making for a bold bush-clad headland, at whose base the long rollers of the southern ocean broke and boomed incessantly, or dashed in wild fury through a natural arch that juts into the sea. For many weeks since leaving the Cape of Storms these hardy mariners had been beating towards the north in quest of a new ocean-track to distant India. They had given a wide berth to the low sandshore of treacherous Agulhas, and had been content with distant glimpses of the lofty mountains of George. They had passed the rocky point of Cape Recife and the sandy coast of Albany. They had gazed with pleasure upon the grassy slopes of Kafirland, and with curiosity up the shadowy reaches of successive rivers. The majestic heights through which St. John empties itself into the sea, with the abounding waterfalls that leap from cliff to cliff, and gleam like streaks of silver against the dark background of rock and forest, had been noticed with some awe but more delight. And then they had come to a different shore, with more gracious outlines and gentler aspects,—a shore of which many years later a local writer thus spoke in verse:—

“Softly the bush-swathed shore arose in backward-sloping hills,
Whose swarthy sides hid rushing streams and bent to rippling rills.
Softly these serried bluffs disclosed deep valleys winding far,
Mid gloom of tufted woodland or stern frown of naked scar.
Softly the mottled heights upsprung, range rising over range.”

It is of the land thus auspiciously discovered by Vasco di Gama on Christmas-day, and reverently named by him the “Land of the Nativity,” that I have to tell to-night. Time went on. Cape Town was colonised; Mozambique, a thousand miles higher up the coast, was occupied and fortified by the Portuguese; India became a European settlement; Western Africa was appropriated; but the interior of Natal was left in peace and obscurity to the natives.

who then swarmed about it. In 1687 certain Dutch seamen were cast ashore there from the wrecked bark *Stavenisse*, and their quaintly-worded record tallies strangely with the experiences of later residents: "They found the country very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, and ingenious; armed with only one assegai; obedient and submissive to their king and chief; living in communities in huts made of branches, wrought through with rushes and long grass, and roofed like hay-stacks in Holland. The women attend to cultivation; the men tend and milk the cows. They do not eat poultry, because they feed on filth; still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see Europeans eat them." Two years later an exploring party thus described the country: "One may travel six hundred or nine hundred miles through the country without any fear of men. In a district of fifteen miles by thirty miles they found no standing waters, but many rivers, with plenty of fish and full of sea-cows. There are many dense forests, with short-stemmed trees. The natives cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, water-melons, and beans. They sow annually a kind of earth-nut and a kind of underground bean. Tobacco grows wild; also the fig and a kind of wild grape, a little sour but well tasted. Wild prunes and wild cherries also grow near the shore. The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats, while as for wild animals and wild creatures of all kinds, their name was legion."

In the early years of the present century, the country thus occupied by a peaceful and inoffensive people was laid waste by a native chieftain, Chaka, who was the founder of the Zulu nation and the terror of Kafirland. This African Attila for hundreds of miles turned south-east Africa into a desolation and a desert. Where population had before teemed, nought but vestiges of burnt kraals remained to tell of the presence of man. Ravaging with spear and firebrand, the armies of this ruthless conqueror left their track in silence and in nakedness. Thus it came to pass that the descendants of tribes which used formerly to live in Natal, may be found scattered to the southward as far as the frontiers of the Cape Colony. Under more peaceful auspices some of the fugitives returned, and have gradually recovered tribal influence and numerical importance; but the actual number of aboriginal inhabitants bears only a small proportion to the whole. In 1839 a further invasion of Natal took place. The country was approached from another quarter. Several thousand of Dutch emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, discontented with their lot as the subjects of

an alien Government, had, like the Israelites of old, resolved upon a national exodus. With their families, their waggons, and their cattle, they set their faces toward the sun, and sallied forth to find a new home and to form a new government. A large number of them, tempted by the stories brought them of the fair and fertile territory lying between the Drakenberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean, turned in that direction. They had hitherto been traversing the vast plains, seemingly illimitable, that stretch to the north beyond the Orange River. This is part of the great central African plateau, and it is skirted at a distance of about two hundred miles from the sea by the suddenly thrust-up peaks of the Drakenberg. This mountain range is supposed to have hemmed in, long ages ago, an inland sea, which at last, under volcanic action, burst its bounds, and rushing eastward gave to the lower lands we are now describing their peculiar character and contour. From these heights the emigrants looked down with desire and thankfulness upon what seemed to their weary eyes a veritable Promised Land. On this side the mountains have a loftier altitude. From their steep flanks the country rolls and melts away in sweeps of grassy pastureland, broken by many mounded hills, and darkened by many tracts of woodland. In the late summer the long grass bends before the wind like a waving cornfield, and in the winter the cloudless sky is dimmed by the smoke of the fires that are lit to consume these superabundant pastures.

The expatriated farmers moved down along the trackless flanks of the Drakenberg to the Canaan thus spread out before them. They had strange and terrible experiences there. An expedition of seventy of them, sent to negotiate terms of amity with Dingaan, Chaka's brother, assassin, and successor, was brutally and treacherously massacred at the king's kraal. There was a night surprise of their camp upon Bushman's River by the forces of the murderous king, which were only driven back after an awful loss of life. For some time the farmers lived in an atmosphere of terror and of bloodshed; but in the end they worsted the armies of Dingaan, drove him to a dog's death in the bush, and recognised his more friendly and faithful brother M'Pande as the Zulu king. Having thus asserted the white man's prowess and established the white man's authority, these indomitable pioneers betook themselves to the works of peace; formed a government in Maritzburg on a primitive, republican, or corporation mould; located themselves about the land in farms of six and eight thousand acres, and looked forward to the enjoyment of the freedom they had so hardly won, and of the national existence they so fondly cherished.

Not yet, however, had they reached the goal. Representations were made to the Cape Government by a small band of English adventurers, settled in what is now Durban, the seaport of Natal, praying to be saved from subjection to Boer rule. Sir George Napier lent a ready ear to these suggestions, and the territory of Natal was declared to be part of the Queen's dominions, annexed in the interests of peace, humanity, and civilisation. This declaration met with the most stubborn resistance from the Boers, and had to be sustained by force of arms. The troops sent up overland from the Cape Colony met with serious reverses near Durban, and were so closely beleaguered that starvation or surrender seemed inevitable, when relief arrived in the nick of time in the shape of Her Majesty's frigate *Southampton*. Many a romantic tale of hairbreadth escape and perilous exposure might be told of this eventful period of Natalian history. British arms, however, prevailed, as they are wont to do, and British statecraft succeeded in making terms with the heartsore and baffled Boers. Hundreds of them, however, sold their farms for nominal prices to Cape speculators, or abandoned them altogether, and gathering together once again their scanty household goods, journeyed over the mountains into the far interior, where they and their children, until last year, lived undisturbed in republican independence beyond the Vaal. The British flag was hoisted at the capital, Pietermaritzburg, British troops were stationed at Fort Napier and Durban, and since then British rule has been maintained, unchallenged and undisturbed, through the length and breadth of Natal.

And long may it be ere any attempt is made to hoist the banner of what must be a spurious independence. Colonist though I am proud to be, and accustomed, therefore, to regard matters from the outlook of a freer life, I hold our British citizenship as the surest pledge of our political liberties. It is strength, and dignity, and security. It saves us from the strife of faction and the misrule of corruption. It guards us from the pretensions of the agitator and from the follies of the fanatic. It qualifies the crudities of youth, and mitigates the weakness of immaturity. It links us to a majestic past, and invests us with the ennobling influences of an ancient and glorious history. It rescues us from the curse of isolation and the cold shades of obscurity, so that instead of being a despised and helpless waif in the ranks of nations, we can feel ourselves to be a part, though a humble one, of a vast Empire, whose dominions touch the poles, and whose flag floats over continents.

Having said so much about the history of Natal, let us proceed

to glance at its physical conditions. Probably not more than one person in a thousand in these islands would be able, if asked, to say exactly in what part of the world Natal is situated. I was once asked by a well-educated person if it were not in Portugal—a question which has some justification in the fact that a Cape Natal is to be found in South America. Other amusing instances of ignorance on the part of my countrymen concerning my adopted home might be cited. Natal, perhaps, is best known as the see of that redoubtable theologian and mathematician, Bishop Colenso, and as the former home of his troublesome old protégé, Langalibalele.

Natal is a lozenge-shaped country about as large as Scotland, lying between the mountains and the Indian Ocean on the south-east coast of Africa. It looks over to Australia, and the warm current that flows down between Madagascar and the mainland laves its shores and tempers its atmosphere. Beyond it westward stretch the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. On its southern boundary the Cape Colony and the fast-narrowing area of independent Kafirland abut; on the north lies Zululand, ruled with an iron hand by Cetawayo, who owns a kind of nominal submission to the supreme authority of the Queen. It occupies a place in that favoured zone where are to be found the most attractive countries and climates in the world, and shares the same latitude as Queensland, Lower Brazil, and Chili, in the southern hemisphere; as Algeria, Mexico, Egypt, and California in the northern. The traveller from Cape Town has a voyage of eight hundred miles before him ere he reaches the parallel of thirty, and finds himself at Durban, the centrally-situated seaport of Natal, 890 miles distant from the southern tropic.

Natal is a land of many climates, ranging from the mellow but humid warmth of Durban and the seashore to the drier heat, but clear and keener atmosphere, of the upland regions. This diversity is easily explained. The reason is read, in fact, in the lineaments of the country by any ordinary observer from a ship's deck in the roadstead. There is scarcely a plain in the whole district. The land rises in vast terraces, one range of hills mounting above the other, until the Karkloof is reached, at a distance of about eighty miles from the shore.

Natal is a land of sudden contrasts. For a distance of from ten to fifteen miles from the coast the country is thickly wooded with a bush in which trees of large growth and girth are interspersed amongst thickly-matted jungle. Of late years this mantle of vegetation has been largely swept away, and its place taken by more

brightly-tinted fields and plantations. Then, through a wide space, wood is only to be found along the beds of streams or hidden away in deep gorges, and the eye ranges wearily over an endless expanse of grassy hillside. After traversing miles and miles of these monotonous pasturelands, the wayfarer all at once finds himself on the verge of a deep and wide basin, walled in by grey or ruddy precipices and clothed with bush, with a gleaming river winding through it, and Kafir kraals perched upon every salient point. Often a table-tipped or cone-crested mountain will spring forth from the lesser hills, and lift its grim and rocky brow as a landmark visible from afar. Not long ago a merry party of us picnicked on the top of such an one, a bold and solitary cone called the Inblugun, from whose summit we took in a glorious landscape. Right in front of us, and seeming strangely near in that crystalline atmosphere, uprose the sharp and rugged peaks and ranges of the Drakenberg, their bare flanks blushing under the morning sun. Closest to us of all, the ramparts of Giant's Castle watched over the sources of many rivers, and a little behind it we could trace the narrow cleft up which Langelibalele and his retreating tribe were flying with their cattle, when they met at the summit the intercepting force of volunteers sent out to stop them. A weary and a hungry march had that small band of citizens had, by night and day, for two days past, climbing up perilous cliffs untrodden before by human footstep, with nothing to sustain their overstrained energies but the consciousness of duty to be done. As long as British hearts beat in Natal, the graves of the three youths who were slain there, and of the faithful natives who fell with them, will be held as sacred ground; and the first sunrays of the morning will disclose no evidence of nobler sacrifice than when they rest upon the cairn which covers that lonely and lofty sepulchre.

Natal is a land of running streams. Its boundaries to the north and south are rivers of the first class, that is, they take their rise in the Drakenberg, and flow from thence in ever-increasing volume to the sea. The Tugela, which divides the colony from Zululand, is fed by a large network of tributaries which drain all the higher uplands. In this region, known as the counties of Weenen and Klip River, exist the coal-fields of Newcastle, some day ere long to be made accessible by railways. Lower down in the bed of this river, where it flows at a depth of three thousand feet below the higher lands, indications of gold have been found, and warm sulphur springs exist. On the south a river of corresponding magnitude, the Umsinkulu, forms the southern boundary, and can boast an entrance which engineers confidently state can be made

navigable. Between these points twenty-four smaller rivers flow into the sea, carrying with them the waters of numberless little affluents, brooks and rivulets, which corrugate the surface of the land in all directions. Many of these streams tumble over precipices of varying heights, forming cascades of singular picturesqueness and beauty. One such is to be found near Maritzburg, at the little township of Howick, where the Umgeni falls sheer at one plunge down a depth of 817 feet. After a thunderstorm its feathering, flashing and ever-shifting waters form a grand and fascinating spectacle.

The rocks of Natal are as prominent as its rivers. Although clothed abundantly with grass or forest, the materials out of which the earth is built are frequently exposed to view, in cliff or gorge, or slab or boulder. Here spires of granite have been left bare by the action of the weather. Large tracts are overlaid with shales of varying orders. In some places trap-rocks underly mere sand-drift and vegetation. In places great slabs of granite protrude bare of all soil or verdure; in others, square mountains of sandstone are found capped with trap and basalt. Trap, indeed, is common everywhere, thrusting itself alike through the granite or the sandstone, spreading out in rolling plains or swelling up into bold hills. Of fossil remains there are comparatively few, except the impress of certain vegetable forms of carboniferous age, in the earlier deposits, or in interesting petrifications of shells that are found on the southern coast. Building stone of the finest kind can be and is excavated in blocks of unexampled size, while clay is used at many points in the manufacture of bricks and tiles. In the upper districts the visitor's eye is arrested by the strange appearance of stony kopjes — mounded hills, that are peppered thick with nodules of rusty ironstone. In truth, a great part of Natal is but thinly covered with cultivatable soil, the herbage that grows and the wild flowers that bloom upon it being no clue to the capabilities of the hungry ground beneath.

The climate of Natal will be judged by visitors of short experience according to the time of their arrival. If they reach Durban in January or February, the summer heats and the summer storms will probably produce a bad impression. But if they should arrive in April, as Sir Garnet Wolseley did, and should leave like that gallant soldier in August, they will no doubt think with him and his companions, that in no part of the world can the weather be more pleasant, more bland, or more invigorating. The seasons there are the reverse of those in Europe, and when you are shivering by the fireside we are panting in the sunshine. Temperature

is apt to change very suddenly, even in the summer, which begins in November and culminates in March. Winter may be said to last from mid-April to September. This period of the year is marked by a clear, bright sky, by very unfrequent showers, by a keen, bracing temperature after sunset and before sunrise, and by moderate warmth during the day. The thermometer ranges throughout the year from 88 to 96 degrees. During the winter the monthly mean would range according to locality from 60 to 67 degrees; during the summer the range would be from 65 to 85 degrees. The coast is, for reasons I have already stated, warmer than the uplands, and rains are more frequent as we approach the sea. In reality, the readings of the thermometer are often higher in the upper than the lower districts, owing to the dryer atmosphere of the former. The least pleasant condition of the Natal climate seldom applies to the coast region. I refer to the hot winds which so often blow, with scorching breath, between August and November. These fiery blasts are borne to us from the parched deserts of the far interior, and are fed by the baked condition of the soil after the winter's drought and grass fires. When they blow the mercury often rises to near 100 degrees, or even yet higher, and existence out of doors appears to be intolerable. Happily they do not, as a rule, last long, but usually give place to a rattling thunderstorm, when the crash and fury of the elements are welcomed as a pleasant change. These storms are very frequent during the summer all over the colony.

Taking it altogether, the climate of the Natalian uplands is probably as agreeable and pleasant and as beautiful as that of any part of the world. I know of many households, leading simple but healthy lives there, who never see a doctor, and scarcely see a drug the whole year round. But in the towns of Maritzburg and Durban, and generally in low-lying localities along the coast, sickness of various ordinary types prevails, as it does elsewhere. Natal has not yet, thank God! been visited by any virulent epidemic, but it cannot be denied that a mild kind of low fever, perhaps slightly malarial in its characteristics, prevails at points that are favourable to its generation and development.

The vital statistics of Natal are by no means perfect, but the mortality tables of the army afford satisfactory proof that the climate is one of the healthiest of the many places where British troops are stationed. The sanitary reports of the military surgeons are equally as favourable. It has often been proposed that Natal should be constituted a sanatorium for British troops that have served their time in India, and need a gentle process of de-

climatisation before reaching England again. On the score of health I do not think that anyone who can stand a warm English summer need have any fears in facing the climate of South-East Africa.

In point of population as compared with area, Natal takes a prominent rank in the roll of Her Majesty's possessions, having a record of about 370,000 inhabitants in an area of 18,500 square miles. In New South Wales the number is 584,000, and the area 325,000 square miles. In Victoria 808,000 persons occupy 86,944 square miles, and in New Zealand the population is 845,000 and the area 100,000 square miles. Judged by these and other standards, therefore, Natal would be deemed almost a thickly-peopled country. I have to tell you, however, that 350,000 of the people of Natal have coloured skins, and that not more than 20,000, if so many, are Europeans. Believing as I do that the native may and will become an active and valuable part in the body politic, I am far from sharing the views of those who look upon a Kafir as a cipher, and as worse than a cipher, in the social compact. Little by little, slowly it is true, but yet steadily, the natives are becoming larger and larger consumers of imported commodities, and better contributors to the common wealth of the community.

The European colonists of Natal, with whom we must first deal, are chiefly of British origin, although in the upper districts a large sprinkling of Dutch farmers may be found. The handful of English adventurers who first occupied Durban were succeeded and supplemented by the Dutch emigrant farmers, who spread over the uplands and were for a few years the major portion of the citizens of Maritzburg. Then, in 1849 set in the stream of immigration, under the auspices of Mr. Byrne,—a scheme which landed about four thousand British settlers in Natal during three short years. These men may be said to have been the pioneers of enterprise and energy in Natal. It was to their efforts that the cultivation of sugar, coffee, and arrowroot owed their subsequent development, and it was they who sowed the seeds of that commercial system that has since spread into the heart of the Continent, and dotted with trading stations and townships the surrounding territories. Hard times had these early settlers, times of struggle and disappointment, of toil and difficulty, of hardship and privation.

These conditions I described at some length in a paper upon the "Social Aspects of Civilisation," which I had the honour to read before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1869. I need now, there-

fore, only say that the experiences of the pioneer settlers of Natal were painful and bitter. No wonder that many of them lost heart in the struggle, and when the Australian gold-fields were discovered flocked to that land of more glittering charms in numbers that threatened to depopulate of English folks the colony. How superior is the position of the emigrant now! The country is known and occupied, thinly perhaps, but still generally through the length and breadth. It has good roads, traversed by regular passenger vehicles, and by transport waggons that are properly and fully organised; it will soon have railways; its rivers are bridged, its towns have markets; it has stores of all kinds in every locality: it has villages, churches and schools, banks and building societies, institutions of every kind; its agricultural capabilities are known and understood; its trade relations are solid and far-spreading. Doubtless, to the immigrant of the present day, colonial experiences would at first seem hard and repellant, but they may rest assured that they are as naught when compared with the trials endured, manfully faced, and successfully overcome, by the men around him, whose comfort and prosperity are but an earnest of what may be achieved by himself if he meets his new life with the patient self-denial and the resolute self-reliance which nerved and animated and fortified these less favoured forerunners.

Of the original Dutch settlers from the Cape Colony only a certain number remained in Natal, and they and their successors are to be found almost entirely in the upper countries. Here they live very much as their fathers did, rearing sheep and other stock upon farms that range in size from 4,000 to 6,000 acres. Most of them are comparatively wealthy,—their domestic outlay being small and their annual returns large. Perhaps of the Europeans in Natal, from two to three thousand belong to this class. They are people of simple habits and narrow prejudices, but orderly, moral, and law-abiding. An earlier movement even than Byrne's Emigration Scheme landed in Natal, so far back as 1848, almost 250 immigrants from Germany, mostly Hanoverian weavers, who were located upon a farm near Durban, and who formed there a settlement known as New Germany. Here they have lived and thriven. At first they cultivated potatoes and forage, by their own labour solely, but of late some of them having acquired wealth in waggons and cattle, have left for other parts of the colony, or betaken themselves to the more lucrative pursuit of carrying. Of all classes of settlers that have gone to South Africa, the poor German emigrants have been the most successful. Destitute of all capital to start with, except that represented by strong arms and sturdy wills

and plodding habits, they are content to exist on whatever may be within their reach, they want no labour except that afforded by their families, their frugal needs are of the simplest order, and whatever return may come to them as the fruit of their patient and hardy toil is clear gain and profit.

At later periods attempts have been made to attract immigration, but with very partial success. In 1861-62, in 1866-67, and again last year assisted passages have been offered, and a certain number of free passages granted. The means of Government, however, are scanty, and the Legislature has so far only seen fit to appropriate a yearly sum of £10,000 to this purpose. That the results have been small, the present numbers of the European population is proof. The absence of railways has deterred the Legislature from taking any comprehensive steps to meet the great need of population, and now that the railroad is being pushed forward in the Colony, we may hope to see the tide of outflowing life and energy flow to the sunny shores of South Eastern Africa.

But although Europe has contributed little of late years to the population of Natal, other countries have been somewhat more generous. The uncertainty of native labour soon proved to the early planters that the only way to make sure of a return upon their large outlay of capital and energy was to obtain from some other country a supply of coloured labour upon which dependence could be placed for a given number of years. In 1859, therefore, after much troublesome negotiation, Indian immigration was set on foot, and 6,000 Coolie labourers indentured to employers for a period of five years were introduced. The experiment was so successful that it has twice been repeated, and during last year about 4,000 more of these people were landed in the Colony. Coolie immigration, about which so little is known in this country, confers a threefold benefit. It benefits, first, the emigrants themselves, who from being landed in a lean, half-starved, and abject condition, become strong, stout, and self-asserting. They are bound to remain in the Colony for ten years, and during the latter half of that period can work for whom they like and as they like. Having passed this term of industrial residence they are entitled to a free passage back. Many avail themselves of this privilege, and take back what in India amounts to small fortunes, their savings in some cases having been £700 and £800. As a rule they give glowing accounts of the country and satisfactory accounts of their treatment by the Government and colonists. Many, however, do not return at all, but remain in the Colony, buying or leasing small pieces of land for cultivation, or engaging in other occupa-

tions, such as fishing, hawking, or sheepkeeping. There will soon be about 15,000 of these industrious Asiatics working in order and amity on African soil and amongst African natives. Natal has also had an influx of people from St. Helena, nearly a thousand inhabitants of that island having found their way thither. The nearer island of Mauritius has also contributed its quota in the shape of Chinamen and Creoles, many of the better class of whom are glad to exchange the overcrowded limits of the Isle of France for the broader spaces of the African territory. As these men are mostly experienced sugar-planters, their advent bids fair to widen very materially the bounds of that enterprise.

Lastly come the natives. Here we meet that which is beyond doubt Natal's greatest difficulty, and, as many think, her chief disadvantage. Three hundred and fifty thousand people; splendidly made, strong, intelligent, and active; rich, according to a Kafir's notions; independent as few races or nationalities are, yet averse to settled employment, and comparatively useless as producers of any exportable article. Thirty years ago there were not more than seventy thousand Kafirs in Natal. In the space of one generation they have quadrupled. Refugees have flocked from all quarters into the peaceable British Colony. There, as nowhere else, the savage has seen savages enjoying under the British flag quiet, protection, and security. There the surrounding tribes have beheld the strange spectacle—in their eyes—of a Government strong enough to be irresistible, but wise enough to be just; a Government which allows its subjects to live on the land it has granted, under the laws it has proclaimed, without compulsion, exaction, or interference. Up to the present time the natives have been ruled according to their own laws, except where they might be repugnant to humanity, or except where they might be in conflict with civilised usage. For twenty-eight years an annual payment of seven shillings per hut was all that the natives had to pay towards the cost of Government. Early last year the amount was doubled, and the new impost was paid without a murmur or a difficulty; so satisfied are the natives with the advantages they enjoy, and so abundant are their means of getting money. No wonder that fugitives from tribes, ruled despotically and cruelly by independent chieftains, should have flocked in so freely, or that the natural increase of such a population, amongst whom polygamy is a settled custom, should have been so large in relation to their original numbers.

This swarm of barbarians is scattered about the whole country. A large proportion of them are massed together in locations of

varying extent, mostly situated in deep and rugged valleys untraversed by common roads, and therefore seldom visited by the traveller, where they pass, in uninterrupted seclusion and unmitigated barbarism, the easy life of the savage. They build their kraals, and order their whole domestic economy just as they did ages ago. These kraals consist of beehive-like strawhuts, with no aperture save a low doorway, about two feet high, ranged round a central enclosure where the cattle of the family are secured at night. Basket-like receptacles act as store-houses for the household corn, some portion of which for late winter use is often buried under the cattle-pen.

As their numbers have increased the lands set apart for occupation by these people have been found by them insufficient for their needs as a cattle-rearing race. Large blocks of land are held in Natal by private absentee-owners, and these are becoming more and more tenanted by native squatters, who pay rates of rental ranging from 10s. to £3 per hut. As these payments yield a large return upon what has often been a nominal price, land proprietors find their account in allowing these unoccupied farms to be tenanted in this way, and thus, in addition to the locations, vast tracts of private land are also passing into the occupancy of barbarism. This new feature of social life in Natal offers to our local politicians a problem no less grave than difficult.

It must not be understood, however, that civilisation is making no headway amongst the natives. There may be no organised developments of it. The domestic life of the Kafir may, and does, remain unchanged, except where, here and there, at one or other of the many mission stations scattered about the country, there are isolated instances of transformation. The Kafir may still live in his straw hut, wear the same scanty girdle of skins, eat the same rude fare, cling to the same uncouth and savage customs, that have been characteristic of his race since that race became known. But when he comes into contact with his white neighbours, in whatever relation, a change is manifest. In the towns he wears clothing, and is rather fond of airing his finery, often begged or stolen, in the fashionable parks and places. The chiefs, of whom there are many, when they visit the haunts of the European are very particular to be smartly clad. There is one chief of note living near the coast, who is in the habit of begging me as a favour to dictate to a Durban tailor the style of costume best befitting him, and to do this regardless of expense. Then, too, they have taken, in the upper districts more especially, to buying horses and to riding them. Many run waggons, with which they work as carriers upon the

public roads. Many use ploughs, and this is a fast-spreading custom of the most hopeful order. To plough is a man's prerogative, so that he takes the woman's place as a tiller of the soil, and accustoms himself to more industrious habits and a more productive life. I can conceive of no more improving, civilising, and peace-preserving influence than that which is thus begotten. Their appetites have also been educated by association with white people. They are very fond of salt and treacle, and, near the sugar plantations, many a woman's daily labour is attracted by the fondness for molasses. But there is a darker side to this part of the picture. If they love sugar and the sugar-cane, they love with yet keener zest their product, alcohol. The Kafir is a natural drunkard, when liquor is placed within his reach. Rum threatens to be alike his god and his devil—the chief object of his devotions and the sure presage of his doom. Although strict laws forbid, under heavy penalties, the sale of liquor to natives, unscrupulous men will supply them with what is fast proving to be their curse, and the law has, so far, been wholly impotent to prevent it. What the final issue may be I dare not say, but the present results are but too apparent in the advancing demoralisation of an interesting race. The only other civilised taste I may name is the passion for guns. Throughout the whole of South Eastern Africa the natives deem the possession of a rifle to be the great end of life. To gain it they will face toil and sacrifice which no other consideration would tempt them to endure. To them this weapon seems the secret of the white man's strength, the key to his superiority, the emblem of his power. Armed with it the savage fancies that he will be the redcoat's equal, and does not hesitate to cherish wild ideas of recovered and complete supremacy. In Natal, far-sighted legislation many years ago made it a crime of the gravest character to sell or give firearms to natives, and in the Colony itself the law is enforced with more or less success. But in the Cape Colony no such restrictions exist, and guns are still sold by tens of thousands, year after year, without let or hindrance. The high wages offered at the diamond-fields and the ease with which guns can be bought there, have enabled hundreds of thousands of rifles to be bought or sold at that point. These weapons are strewn broadcast over South Africa. In Zululand at least 11,000 of Cetewayo's warriors are thus equipped, and a rough species of gunpowder is manufactured. This country is chiefly supplied with guns from the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay, where rifles can be bought in any quantity at 24s. each.

You will thus see that in this land of modest area there are

living, side by side, men not only of diverse nationalities, but of wholly different races. There may be found domesticated on the soil—the European, the Asiatic, and the African; the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Negro. There the traveller of many languages may hear in common talk around him English and French, German and Dutch, Kafir and Hindustani. These are the various seeds of what may grow to be as many-hued and many-tongued a population as the world's map can show on an equal surface. I am far from thinking that so mixed a social texture is wholesome or to be desired. It has led, in Natal, to a diffusiveness of purpose and a diversity of interests that are adverse to that unity of effort by which the prosperity of peoples and of countries can be best assured. Had Natal been a land of one race, with energies bent, in the main, in one direction, and but one sympathy, language, and sentiment in common, the story I should have had to tell you now would be one of greater progress, fuller development, and more mature realisation of hopes and aims.

Having said so much concerning the people of Natal, let me tell you something about their industries, their occupations, their productions, and their social life. To this end, let us visit in imagination those two typical Natalian abodes—the coast plantation, and the up-country farm.

Following the windings of the road, round hill and through valley, and at times amidst the overarching branches of the forest, we come at length to fields of sugar cane, clothing with rich and almost impenetrable vegetation miles of what once was bush land, and intersected at regular distances by broad belts of road.

Two things are indispensable conditions in sugar-planting: labour must be had in adequate supply, or the great matter of cultivation will be neglected, the fields will become weedridden, and future crops will be sacrificed; and capital must be invested on a large and liberal scale, or the business of manufacture will be carried on feebly and badly, and the owners will fail to realise the whole value of their crop. The want of one or other, or of both of these elements, has too often crippled enterprise and caused failure in Natal. Sugar planting has been to many of its followers a cruel taskmaster, entailing endless toil, constant worry, and keen anxiety. Like all pursuits that are dependent upon natural conditions for their success, it is liable to the depressing influences of drought, flood, and weather. Fire, too, forms a danger from which real disaster has once or twice been experienced; while there is the ever-present risk of bad markets hanging over the enterprise.

But in spite of these drawbacks, sugar-planting is and has been popular as an occupation in Natal, and so it will probably continue to be. The resumption of Coolie immigration from India has placed within the planter's reach a source of permanent labour-supply, while the stream of natives flowing in to work for varying periods from the northern territories is greater than it has been. But a more important element in the prospect is the probable extension of the "central-mill" principle throughout the colony. By this plan the man of very small means is enabled to plant sugar on any scale, however humble, and to devote to its cultivation all his time and energy. It is quite possible that the millowner is also the land-owner, partly or altogether, in which case the grower will be only a lessee, and his need of capital at the outset is almost nominal. The millowner, on his part, is able to apply his undivided attention to the business of manufacture, and to make use of all the means which experience and science have provided for the economical treatment of the cane. When I add that in the French West Indian colonies this system has yielded profits so handsome that I scarcely like to name them, you must admit that the prospects of sugar planting are much brighter than they have been. It is very probable that many Coolie growers will fall in with this system, their tendency being, as I have already said, to settle upon land leased or bought, as independent cultivators.

Coffee planting is for the time being under a cloud in Natal, and I need not spend much time in descanting upon it. Whether it is that the country lies too far from the tropics, or that the climate lacks sufficient moisture, or that there is some radical defect in the soil, no one can exactly say, but it is a fact that much experience of bad crops has brought this once popular branch of agriculture into general disfavour. It may be that future observation and experience will discover the real cause of the frequent failure of this attractive crop, and that we may at no distant date see the sunny hillsides of the coast beautified by the presence of the luxuriant and ornamental coffee-tree.

There are other coastland industries to which I can but make a passing allusion. Arrowroot growing had made a livelihood for many a plodding settler before sugar planting took its place at the head of our local callings. A scanty home market, and that alone, has prevented the large development of this easy and inexpensive pursuit. Tobacco flourishes all over Natal, and is grown alike by European, Indian, and Kafir; but the day has yet to come when it will become a staple production of the soil. Of cotton much might be said, but as its cultivation has almost entirely ceased,

I pass it over with the remark that it has been grown with success and profit, and that it was the first agricultural product exported from Natal. Cayenne pepper, the product of the chilli or capsicum pod, has also given employment, and yielded a return to several growers, but the demand for it in northern markets, like the demand for arrowroot, is unequal to the supply. Rum is being more and more produced upon sugar plantations. A still is often represented as being the necessary complement of a well-ordered estate, but where the concrete system is adopted, this rule does not hold good. The aim, in this case, is to convert the juice into a portable form, for treatment by the home refiner. Hence, all the saccharine elements in the cane are reduced to the crudest form of sugar, which is sent home, molasses and all, for manipulation in this country, or is transferred into the vacuum-pan on the estate, and turned into the fine crystalline sugar which has become so popular upon our breakfast-tables. The local manufacture of rum is having a disastrous effect upon the morals of the native population. Stringent and severe as are the laws which prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors to the natives, they are universally evaded, and the vice of drunkenness is spreading with ruinous rapidity amongst the Kafirs who reside in or near the rum-producing districts.

But let us leave the warmer and more humid region near the shore, and take our way to some upland farm. When we have left the sea at our backs, say twenty miles off, we shall certainly be at least 2,000 feet above its level, and entirely out of reach of its climatal influences. As we advance, the stockbreeder's pursuit is that which seems more and more to tempt the settler. The bare rolling hill-slopes are here and there sprinkled with heads of cattle or flocks of sheep, or dotted with groups of horses. Now and then the low-lying valleys are tufted with the flat-crowned mimosa bush, or the eastward-facing brows of the hills will be darkened by limited tracts of dense yellow-wood forest, out of which the grey stems of the moss-draped trees rise in stateliness and beauty. More commonly, however, the ground is naked and open, and if trees exist they are mostly the offspring of man's industry. We may probably have scanned our night's resting-place from afar—a white spot set against the brown mantle of the withering pasturage. As we approach it, after a hot and tedious ride, the setting sun blinds our eyes and mars our first glimpse of the homestead. The house is overshadowed by exotic trees, by resinous blue-gums, by yellowing syringas, and fast upspringing pines and fir-trees. Young oak-trees may be

slowly asserting their existence, or the mushroom-like wattle may form a dark background of vegetation. There is an orchard of peach and apple-trees close by, and further down, near the stream, whose waters can be led out to irrigate them, some fields of cultivated land, enclosed by sod walls, give token of man's industry. If the farm be one of a more advanced order, there will be stone enclosures, and sheds for horses, cattle and sheep, to say nothing of fowl-yards and piggeries. If it be one of a more primitive kind, the trees around will very likely be calculable on the fingers of one hand, the cattle kraal will be a mere circular enclosure of branches, the patch of ploughed ground will be all unfenced, and the sheep will be left untended on the hills.

Though the day-time heat is often excessive in these uplands, it oppresses much less than does the enervating atmosphere of the coast. Hot winds which blow from the north-west are the most baneful atmospheric condition of these districts. They are only known, however, in spring and early summer, and are often the forerunners of refreshing thunderstorms. After a ride amidst one, it is pleasant to reach such a homestead as the first I have described, standing coolly in the shadow of trees, and offering a friendly shelter from the scorching glare. As evening draws on the stock comes home, and has to be housed and counted, cows have to be milked, corn and forage served out, and all the nightly routine of a pastoral farm attended to. If there is disease amongst the stock, as there often is, it must have the owner's care. The Colony has been sorely exercised in this respect during the last twenty years. Lung sickness and redwater amongst cattle; scab, foot sickness, and other diseases amongst sheep; and a fever-like epidemic which often attacks horses in the autumn, have each in their turn been the cause of anxiety and loss to the owners of stock. In spite of these scourges farmers thrive and multiply, and at this moment sheep farmers are, perhaps, the most prosperous class of settlers in Natal. There is this to be said about pastoral pursuits in the uplands: that they entail small liabilities, but a moderate outlay of labour, and a reasonable prospect of fair profit. The up-country farmer can live in comparative comfort upon a very moderate income. If he be intelligent and industrious, he produces on his own farm most of the necessities of life. Conventional requirements on account of dress, and the social or external accessories of life, press but lightly upon him. Loss in his case may mean privation, but it is without suffering. He is his own landlord, and unless debt has struck its talons into him,

the decimation of his herds or of his flocks need not blight his prospects or repress his energies.

If the chief charm of the up-country farmer's life be its independence, one of its worst drawbacks to most minds will be its isolation. Days may pass, perhaps, without interruption or enlivenment from the outer world. Should the homestead be well away from any main thoroughfare, and should there be no neighbours within easy calling-distance, the eyes of the inmates may wander day after day along the narrow track which leads across the hills in vain quest of a visitor. In more thickly-occupied localities, probably scarcely a day will pass without some friendly visitation from the neighbourhood. Even then, to anyone accustomed to the busy throngs of men—to the eager rush and crush of our modern civilisation, and to the constant advent of a frequent post—the seclusion of the existence is apt to have a depressing and deadening influence. But the sense of isolation wears away in time, as the mind gets habituated to the new conditions, and the periodical advent of the mail is an event so welcome that its excitement almost atones for its rarity. Every year, moreover, diminishes the drawback. Post-offices and mails are multiplied, roads are improved, neighbours become more numerous, railways get constructed, and the colonist begins to find that he has as much distraction as his sobered nature craves or needs.

It will thus be seen that the social life of Natal in its country districts is simple and uneventful. In a land of such "magnificent distances" it could not be otherwise. But, indeed, the whole social fabric, whether in town or country, is as yet in the primitive stage of its construction. There has been no mushroom upgrowth of towns and cities such as America and Australia have witnessed. Durban is an older place of settlement than Melbourne, and yet the one has 10,000 inhabitants, and the other twelve times the number. The chief cities of Australia and Canada may rival the provincial cities of the United Kingdom, or the minor capitals of the Continent. The chief towns in Natal bear in all their features and outlines the signs of colonial immaturity. They were planned nearly forty years ago with a large regard to future developments. Their long streets are still skirted by disconnected buildings of motley sort and size; those that have an upper story to dignify them being much fewer than those that can boast of only one floor. The streets, as broad as any Parisian boulevard, are but partially hardened, while the footways are so deviously paved that they offer little comfort to the wayfarer. A few street lamps lit with oil shed a fitful glimmer at melancholy intervals; and from

running streams in Maritzburg, or from public wells in Durban, the householders derive their daily water supply. Still, when the feeble increase of population is considered, these two towns are not without worthy aspects. Churches representing all Christian sects abound in each. A capital and very efficient police force is maintained in both boroughs. Municipal matters are vigorously attended to in each by a mayor and town council. In Maritzburg a spacious and picturesque park has been handsomely laid out; and in Durban a public garden is kept up in the centre of the town. There are clubs, and theatres, and rinks, and racecourses, and botanical gardens, and cricket grounds, and rifle ranges, of modest pretension, it is true, but nevertheless recognised types of each class. Theatricals, concerts, lectures, readings, games, and entertainments of the usual kind are constantly taking place. The houses of the residents, if mostly small, are comfortably furnished, and in some cases are of imposing dimensions. In the suburbs gardening is a favourite pursuit, and tree-planting a popular hobby. There are commodious hospitals to shelter the sick, and decent burial grounds to accommodate the dead. There are prisons to confine the criminal, and an asylum to hold the insane portions of the community. Civilisation is there, although only in miniature; but every year as it speeds leaves its traces in some new institution, public building, or other improvement.

The institutions of the Colony are equally numerous and equally imperfect. The Government is a nondescript example of the representative principle. There is a Legislative Council, whose members hold their seats by three several rights: the five official members by virtue of the offices they hold from the Crown; the eight unofficial nominees by pleasure of the Governor, who selects them; the fifteen elective members by the suffrages of the voters at large. The middle element in this strange compound was the product of Sir Garnet Wolseley's brief but brilliant mission, but it has failed to lend the "strength" which it was intended should be imparted to the Government by the addition of these "independent" nominees. There is a Supreme Court of three judges, and a Native High Court, presided over by one judge, as well as a very numerous and costly staff of district magistrates. There is a newspaper press company, five regular journals, issued twice or thrice a week, together with a small daily sheet, and occasional attempts at magazines. Libraries, too, there are, but in a very unpretentious form. In Durban the "Public Institute" is housed in a small wooden cottage, and in Maritzburg the older and more ambitious "Natal Society" conducts its operations in two modest ground-

floor rooms ; but in the one case the municipality has endowed the body with a grant of land, and in the other a considerable sum has been raised for the erection of a more suitable building, and in due course we may expect to see in both places edifices that shall be fitting shrines for the intellectual culture of the neighbourhood. Banks are not so numerous as they have been ; and the monetary needs of the country are met by one local institution and the branches of two foreign or imperial banks. Education is fairly provided for, considering the difficulties which attend upon the teaching of so thin and scattered a population. The average attendance of scholars will nevertheless bear comparison with the returns of any other Colony, the proportions being as 1 in 10 in Natal against 1 in 10 in Cape Colony, 1 in 21 in Mauritius, 1 in 15 in South Australia, and 1 in 12 in New Zealand. During the last session of the Legislative Council, a comprehensive measure for the reconstruction of the schools at present existing, as primary and secondary schools, and for the establishment of a "Royal College," together with liberal provision for bursaries and scholarships, was prepared and submitted by the Governor and unanimously approved. A large number of private schools also receive aid from Government. I regret to say that Government does little or nothing as yet for the education of the natives, although public feeling in the Colony is and has been strongly in favour of measures whereby the coloured inhabitants shall be trained and taught. Had the home Government not retained and exercised almost exclusive control over native affairs, the improvement and elevation of the native population would assuredly have been the subject of a more vigorous and fruitful policy.

Time will not allow me to say much about the trade of Natal, but a few words and a few more figures will suffice to give a definite idea of the commercial progress of the Colony. Although that progress has by contrast with the experience of Australia been slow, and has now and then fluctuated under special reverses, it has upon the whole been sure and steady. Thirty years ago trade was almost wholly confined to supplying the wants of the few Europeans within the country. The Kafirs at that time consumed no imported commodities—a few beads excepted—while trade with the interior was represented by the occasional departure of a trading waggon. In 1846 the imports were £41,598, and the exports £17,142; they were in 1876 £1,022,890, and £657,890 respectively. The revenue during the same period rose from £3,095 to £265,551 15s. 4d. The principal exports of Natal last year were represented by £366,219 for wool, £135,201 for sugar, £41,004 for

hides and skins, £11,006 for ivory, £3,806 arrowroot, and £687 for butter. These figures all refer to recorded shipments by sea. There is, in addition, a large export of colonial-grown sugar, coffee, tobacco, and rum to territories beyond the border; of this no return or account is kept. A considerable proportion of the colonial trade is now done with the Free State, the Transvaal, Zululand, Basutoland, the Diamond Fields, and the southern districts. The Kafir trade is fast developing. Every year adds to the wants of the natives. The old-fashioned pick has given place to the hoe and the plough, clothes are more generally worn, blankets and rugs have quite taken the place of skins, and it only needs wise and active administration in fostering the taste of the natives for imported commodities, and in encouraging their adoption of civilised habits and ways, to make them large contributories to the commonwealth.

Natal's two great material needs have been railways and labour. Possessed of no navigable rivers, and devoid of an indented coastline, the whole traffic of the Colony through these many years has had to be carried on in cumbrous ox waggons, drawn over indifferent roads through a hilly country at a speed of fifteen miles a day. Trade cannot possibly advance at a rapid pace under such circumstances. For years the Colony strove to secure the construction of railways, and after many disappointments it succeeded in 1875 in getting works began. The first sod of a line to Maritzburg was turned in Durban on the 1st of January, 1876, and the colonists are very anxious that the works shall go on without interruption until they reach the western border and tap the western trade. Government is making the lines, through contractors, on its own account, and they bid fair when completed to be very profitable. One of the resources which they are expected to develop is of immense value. At a distance of about a hundred and eighty miles from the coast vast coal deposits are found. These seams of coal crop out of the sides of streams and gullies, and are constantly used by the neighbouring residents. The coal is of excellent character, and appears to exist in unlimited quantity. It is believed that other deposits will be discovered at points much nearer to the coast than those that are already known. Iron abounds in the immediate neighbourhood, and proposals have at times been made, but so far never carried out, for working the two simultaneously. When the iron road reaches this land of minerals—and it must pass through it to get to the border—enterprise can hardly fail to make use of such an opening for investment and activity. It surely is no stretch of the imagination to anticipate

the time when these two mighty factors of English wealth and English greatness shall play their part most potentially in working out the grand problem of African civilisation.

These coal-fields stretch up to the extreme verge of the Colony inland. They are found between the north-eastern and north-western frontiers. Beyond these frontiers there spread, even as late as the end of last year, the territory of a Dutch republic. From thence, for a distance of five hundred miles, another rule than that of our gracious Queen prevailed—a rule in which confusion, corruption, and anarchy were incomparably more conspicuous than order, rectitude, or authority. That vast and bountiful territory, with all its wealth of soil, minerals, and pasture land—with its thousands of European residents, and its hundreds of thousands of native inhabitants—has now by the patient diplomacy of the Queen's representative, and with the expressed approval of its people, been brought under British rule: The annexation of the Transvaal has given a new complexion to the prospects of Southern Africa, and made infinitely more hopeful the chances of African civilisation. England, to whom Providence has manifestly confided the work of regenerating this old dark continent, has now before her an open field. No alien government interposes a barrier in the way. From the shores of Natal to the banks of the Limpopo her flag waves without a rival, and many years will not elapse before it has been borne by the force of events and the pressure of circumstances to the valley of the Zambesi. The mission she has undertaken will compel her to move on. No other Power can take her place; no other Power ought to do it. It is for the world's welfare, no less than for England's interest, that her rule and her influence should prevail from Cape Town to Nyassa.

Time forbids me to pursue this subject further. On some future occasion, perhaps, a description of these inland territories may not be unacceptable to this Institute. I name them now as being factors of the first importance in the future development of Natal. They supplement her scantiness of area by their vaster breadths of land; they feed and stimulate her trade; they send down to her port their ever-multiplying stores of produce; they will, I believe, at no distant time share with her a common government, and form with her parts of one great commonwealth. May we not hope, then, that the earlier toilers of Natal will find some fruition of their labours in the new era that has now set in, and that both England's statesmen and the world's citizens will rejoice over the policy which has built up a South African Dominion under the British Crown.

DISCUSSION.

General Sir ARTHUR CUNYNGHAME, K.C.B., late Commander of the Forces in South Africa, Deputy High Commissioner and Lieut.-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope: Gentlemen,—I have been requested by your acting President to say a few words on this occasion, so perhaps no apology is due for my doing so. I regret to see that my friend, the Duke of Manchester, is not present at this moment. I should have had great pleasure in meeting him, more especially as we have served together in the same branch of Her Majesty's army. We are all indebted to Mr. Robinson for this interesting paper on Natal, which has been brought before you with such eloquence by Mr. Young. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps I am the latest arrival in this room from Natal and the Transvaal. It has been my lot to hold a high and responsible position in that country, commanding the combined forces in South Africa. I have just returned from the frontier of the Cape Colony, the scene of rebellion, and from the war in Kaffraria—so interesting to you; and, as a soldier, you may expect that I may say a few words on this subject. I do not desire to allude to the services of Her Majesty's troops—you are too well accustomed to hear the best accounts of them (hear, hear)—but it is regarding the Volunteers that I may say a word. These gentlemen and citizens of South Africa, in my opinion, possess every quality which could render them efficient soldiers. In this I do not exclude any one of the four Colonies which were under my military rule. But I hope that the Government will influence them to receive instructions in the military art, by which alone they can become useful and efficient soldiers. The colonists of the Transvaal, Griqualand, and Natal have all in this war given or proffered their services to assist the Government and to assist their brother-colonists of the Cape Colony in their exertions to terminate it. (Hear, hear.) This is the more satisfactory, because, from the immense number of Colonies under the British Crown, it cannot be expected that upon all occasions Her Majesty can find troops to assist those who will not assist themselves in their exigencies. The Volunteers of the Colony and those of Griqualand have served under my command in large numbers—6,000 or 7,000 at one time. Their ability fully to render service will, I hope, very soon equal that of Her Majesty's troops. South Africa is a very strange country. I have seen a very great deal of it. I have travelled much through every one of the Colonies, as well as the native states. The customs and habits of these people,

I need not add, are widely different from our own. I rode across Kaffraria proper, one of the strangest countries in the world, and the wildest; old native customs prevail in it; it is less civilised, perhaps, than the country opposite to Zanzibar; smelling out, burying alive, &c., described so forcibly by Livingstone, are still constantly resorted to. In many ways these Kafirs are a noble race. Many instances of their loyalty to their chiefs came before me, quite equal to anything which occurred in western side of Scotland in the days of the Pretender. When commanding the army in Galeka-land I offered to anyone who would bring Kreli in safety into my camp, that I would place into his hand 1,000 golden sovereigns; at that time these Galekas were so distressed for food that they were gnawing off the bark from the trees, and yet there was not found one man to betray their chief. (Hear, hear.) I knew Kreli to be within fifteen miles of my camp, and yet I could not get him into my hands; 1,000 golden sovereigns, or 500 head of cattle, would not tempt his people to betray him—that I look upon as a noble trait in their character. (Hear, hear.) These Kafirs are almost incomprehensible; for instance, I visited when travelling over Pondoland the chief Umthouslo; he has been loyal to us, having lately given into our hands a rebel chief. Just before I visited him he had ordered a young man to be shot for having presented to his wife a pinch of snuff. People who for so small an offence will take life, may certainly be considered barbarous and difficult to deal with. Again, Griqualand East is an interesting country. I there met with Adam Kock, a patriarch, who, like the Israelites of old, had been for five or six years wandering across the Drakenberg, seeking his promised land, continually fighting with savage tribes. The whole of the north of Kaffraria proper is now under our rule, and will prove most valuable to us some day. But I look to the notice-board, and see that I have trenched already too deeply upon the period given to address sanctioned by the rules of this Institute. ("Go on.") Still there are many points which I should like to allude to, one especial one—Confederation. Having seen so much of South Africa, and in a certain sense being politically connected with it, I cannot help on this public occasion bringing to your notice my humble opinion of the enormous benefits and advantages not only to the Colonies, but to Great Britain, should this measure be accomplished. (Hear, hear.) I desire to allude to this specially in a military point of view; for I am confident that, were this measure carried out, and that were one Colony supported by the other States of such a union, a smaller army, a more connected army, and a more perfect system of military development

would exist in South Africa ; and the divided relations which all these Colonies now bear to each other would be obliterated, and their jealousies in assisting one another would cease. Not only that, I am convinced that the Government would be less expensive, and that their interior and exterior relations would be much better carried on. (Hear, hear.) But I will say no more on this subject, as it may be considered out of my province. The railroads, a rising institution in Natal, have been most ably handled by my friend Mr. Robinson in the paper which has been read to us by Mr. Young. There is no doubt but that this question affects deeply the whole of South Africa. There are a great many interests to be considered, and it is doubtful which railroads would be most advantageous ; but I am happy to say that three or four prominent lines towards the interior of Africa are progressing. That from Cape Town to Beaufort West has more than half reached that latter town ; the one from Port Elizabeth towards the Orange River has considerably advanced ; the one from East London, by King Williamstown and Queenstown, has made rapid strides, and but for the war would have been much more forward ; the railroad from Durban in Natal to Pietermaritzburg has advanced many miles into that Colony ; but I trust that the railroad from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria, in the Transvaal, will yet be accomplished. I will not allude to special benefits of each, but I believe that the Kafir labour which must be employed on them would be more beneficial towards the general civilisation of South Africa than any measure of political economy which could be practised in that country. I feel happy in that I have lent the aid of my soldiers towards their furtherance and development. One remark more I consider it right to make, and that is, that England possesses in her Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa one of the most able, most determined, and talented officers that Her Majesty the Queen could have sent to that country—I allude to his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere—(cheers)—that I believe if any man could finish that unhappy war, honestly and fully, without patching up a peace, soon again to be broken, and bring the Cape Colony to such a position as it should hold in the world, he will do it, supported as he is by those excellent administrators, Sir Theophilus Shepstone in the Transvaal, Sir Henry Bulwer in Natal, and Colonel Lanyon in Griqualand. Sir Henry Bulwer has done an immense deal towards the pacification of Cetewayo in Zululand by advocating arbitration ; he has endeavoured to bring that rude warrior to a sense of the difficulties of his position. Sir Theophilus Shepstone has had immense difficulties to overcome in the annexation of the

Transvaal, and, in my opinion, he has accomplished it in the cleverest manner. And my friend Colonel Lanyon gave me every assistance in his power from the Diamond Fields, sending me a mounted corps to operate in the war with Krelî, the Galeka; while Sir Bartle Frere stuck to his post on the frontier to guide all those under his government during the war, equally watching the true interests of Her Majesty, of the Colony, and of those poor and misguided natives whose war and rebellion he was bound to repress. (Applause.) I trust the war will soon end. An able general has been sent to succeed me, my friend General Thesiger; I wish him every success. Forgive me, gentlemen, for the hurried way I have addressed you. I came quite unprepared for the honour which has been done me by your acting President; but after the kind invitation which I received from his Grace the Duke of Manchester and your invitation, and the elegant hospitalities I have been partaker of, I could not refuse the request which was made to me, to say a few words upon a country with which I am so well acquainted and in which I take so deep an interest.

Sir HENRY BARKLY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., late Governor of the Cape Colony (who, on rising, was received with loud cheers) said: I am sure that you all have, like myself, listened with pleasure to the interesting account of the Colony of Natal read by the Honorary Secretary, and which was contributed at his instance, I believe, by Mr. John Robinson, one of the leading, and I may say most enlightened, politicians of the Colony of Natal. I had the advantage of making his acquaintance myself three or four years ago, when I paid a short visit to Natal just after the Langalibalele affair; and I am convinced that there is nobody who would be able to give more correct information, or who could draw a more graphic picture of that Colony than Mr. Robinson. (Hear, hear.) Doubtless there are many in this room with more personal experience of Natal than I have, for I had but a glimpse of the Colony in that short visit; but I may say that it sufficed to confirm the high opinion that I had previously entertained of the value and the magnitude of its resources, and of the great prosperity which some day or other is in store for it. I have no doubt whatever that with its semi-tropical district on the coast, with its pastoral and agricultural capabilities further inland, and with the coal-fields alluded to in the paper, which will be sooner or later developed, some day or other it will become one of the most thriving and prosperous parts of South Africa, especially when it is opened up by the railways just commenced near the coast. No doubt, as both Mr. Robinson and Sir Arthur Cunynghame have remarked, there are

obstacles to be surmounted. There has always stood a lion in the path of the progress of Natal in the shape of the Zulu savages, who live adjacent to its frontier; but I have every hope that, with a continuance of the moderate and just policy hitherto pursued by the authorities in Natal, that danger will be ultimately averted, and that peace will continue to be maintained. I know there are some who call this moderation merely staving off the evil day, and insist that sooner or later it will come to a fight. I cannot say that I have ever shared in those sentiments. I believe, at any rate, there are two enormous advantages in delaying a rupture. In the first place, year by year the white population of Natal are increasing in number and strength, and becoming more closely united by the aid of steam and electricity with the white population of other parts of South Africa; and, secondly, in process of time there can be no doubt that civilisation will also make progress among the coloured population both in Natal and among the Zulus themselves: I think, therefore, that everything is to be gained by continuing the moderate and just policy towards the natives which has hitherto been pursued in that country; and I concur with Sir Arthur Cunynghame in thinking that it is most fortunate that the Lieutenant-Governor and the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, have agreed to submit the boundary in the Transvaal, so long in dispute between Cetewayo and the Boers, to arbitration, instead of taking any high-handed measures on the subject. There is only one other point in Mr. Robinson's paper to which I should like to advert briefly, because it is the only point on which I rather differ from him, and that is in what he says with regard to the absence of any restriction at all in the trade in guns in the Cape Colony. This is quite a mistake. I am far from denying that the trade has been carried on to too great an extent, not only there but in most parts of South Africa, although I believe that General Cunynghame would bear me out in stating that the possession of fire-arms by the natives has not proved nearly so dangerous during the recent outbreak on the eastern frontier as was anticipated; but, on the contrary, that by tempting them out into the open it has given our troops a better chance. Still, I concur in thinking that such possession may have encouraged ideas of resistance, or even of conquest, on their part, which might otherwise not have entered their heads, and it is in so far to be regretted. Mr. Robinson, however, is wrong in supposing there is no restriction on the trade, because, on the contrary, nothing would be more penal than to sell a gun to a native. If anyone were to try and evade the regulations in force, or if, for instance, a farmer paid his labourer by

giving him a gun, he would be liable to a penalty of no less than £500, and that penalty has been actually pronounced, if not inflicted, more than once during my tenure of office. At the same time, it is quite true that the regulations are complied with in a very perfunctory manner, certificates being signed by magistrates and issued to natives without due inquiry. It is, in fact, much as Mr. Robinson says about the liquor trade in Natal, where it is contrary to law to sell a glass of rum to a Kafir ; but, at the same time, it is done every day ; and I am afraid that, so long as the buyers and sellers are united in interest and desirous of carrying on the trade, it will be found extremely difficult to check the supply either of liquor or of fire-arms to the natives of South Africa, however desirable it may be that this should be done. In conclusion, I am sure we all agree that the thanks of the meeting are due to Mr. Robinson for the valuable paper he has contributed.

MR. ANTHONY TROLLOPE : In the very few words with which I shall trouble you this evening I will endeavour to confine myself to the Colony in respect to which we have met here to-night—Natal. I will begin by saying that I do agree most heartily with Mr. John Robinson's account of what has been done there. I think it is probable that some among you when they came into the room this evening did not know much about Natal. It is impossible, indeed, that all of us should know a great deal about the numerous Colonies we have to rule ; and I am sure that if there were any as ignorant as I was before I went to South Africa—less than a year ago—they will have learned from Mr. Robinson's paper much which they will be glad to know. I will confine myself to one particular point in Mr. Robinson's lecture. He has spoken of a population, I think he said, of 850,000 natives, and he has spoken of a joint population of all other kinds, not including the coolies, of 20,000 ; and I may perhaps be correct in surmising that he has asked us with some sense of apology to take into account and forgive the fact that, whereas Natal has 850,000 black men, that it only has, after so many years, 20,000 white men. And he has gone on to make a comparison about that, and to tell us that those two cities of Durban and Pretoria have only 12,000 white inhabitants apiece ; whereas Melbourne, he says, has ten times as many. He might have said that Melbourne has twenty times as many ; and he might have told you that Melbourne has more inhabitants of English birth than all those vast countries you see before you on that map, belonging to the British Crown—which are bigger in area than all British India. This, instead of being matter for apology, should I think, if properly considered, be the

ground on which we should take pride in Natal—as, indeed, in all South Africa. We have gone to other lands where the black and copper-coloured men have fallen before us and have vanished, and it is as a weight on our consciences, as a burden on our souls, that we have gone there and destroyed them. But in Natal and in South Africa the men that we have found have clustered round us, have increased. As Mr. Robinson has told you, in Natal there are five times as many black men now as there were when we first settled ourselves in the country. Instead of vanishing, as they have done in other lands, they have become a populous nation under our hands. Mr. Robinson tells you that they drink rum. So do Englishmen drink gin. But the native inhabitants of the Cape Colony and Natal do not drink it to such an extent as to die from it. They are a strong, increasing race, doing the work of the country. They are the servants whom every white man who goes there is desirous to get into his employment. The complaint you will hear there is that they are too well off to work. It is not that they will not work because they drink. You will be told that a man is so well off that he will not come for wages. Though seven or ten shillings a week are offered to him, the so-called savage is too well off to come for it. These men have gone on and have increased and prospered, and are becoming a mighty race; and of that we should, I think, be more proud than of having 250,000 of our own countrymen in Melbourne. In the town of Kimberley I found 10,000 black men going every day to their labour as punctually as any man in this city, and coming back on Saturday night for their wages, earning ten shillings a week and their diet, with true European regularity. We have done nothing like that in New Zealand, nor in Australia, nor in North America, where the natives are vanishing before the white men; nor was it done so by the Spaniards in the West Indies. In those countries all natives have vanished, or are vanishing; and I say that, to those who speak and are proud of what our Colonies have done, it should be a source of exquisite pathos, of sorrow intermingled with our pride that, as we have prospered and carried our way across the world, these poor wretches whom we have found should of necessity have perished at our coming. Let us in this spirit think of the natives of this country, Natal, and remember that they have not perished. When we went to Natal the numbers there were not a fifth of what they are now. These men swarmed into the country as soon as British rule was established there. The black man found that he could sleep in peace under the British flag, and from that day to now he has slept in peace, and has prospered.

Sir ROBERT B. TORRENS, K.C.M.G. : From some observations which fell from Mr. Anthony Trollope, whose name is so favourably known to us all, it would appear that something like a slur was cast upon the white inhabitants of Australia, from the fact of the rapid and, as regards Tasmania, the total disappearance of the native inhabitants. Now, that does not arise from any cruelty or mismanagement on the part of those colonists ; but the reason that the black man has been able to hold his own in Africa, and the coloured man has not been able to hold his own in Australia and has disappeared before us, was not due to the want of any right feeling or efforts to civilise or preserve the races there, but is owing to the position they occupied when we went into the country. (Hear, hear.) Any man who will look over the whole area of colonisation will find that hunting tribes always expire before civilised men ; but when the aborigines have developed some degree of civilisation, and advance beyond that mere hunting stage to the nomad, or further, to the agriculturist stage, you find he is able to hold his own against the white man. Thus, you find the Red Indian is rapidly disappearing in North America, notwithstanding the efforts to preserve them. (Hear, hear.) I will give you an instance, and what is only an exemplification of what is taking place generally in Australia, so that it may not go forth that the Australians have neglected their duty in this matter. The present Bishop of Perth (Mr. Hale) came out to South Australia as Archdeacon in our Church ; he believed that the reason why the native Australian was so rapidly disappearing before the white man was that he got corrupted by the vices of the white man. Archdeacon Hale got from the Government a large peninsula at Port Lincoln, and sent over there year by year the adult boys and girls as they attained the age of puberty. There they were kept apart from communication with Europeans. They were regularly married, but no children were reared, and they died of consumption most rapidly ; and if it had not been for the constant supply sent from the training institutions in Adelaide there would have been none there in a few years. Physicians and others who have given attention to this almost inscrutable decrease of the population, have expressed the opinion that it is attributable to the circumstance that as from generation to generation they have gone absolutely naked, their whole person in contact with the air, clothing put upon them induces this consumption, from which they die. This opinion may or may not be correct ; but he would affirm positively that it was not from want of care or food that the natives of Australia have disappeared, but from causes which we see in operation

all over the world—that the hunting tribes always disappear before us, but those who get to the nomad or agriculturist stage are able to hold their own against the white man. (Cheers and "Hear, hear.")

Dr. LANGHAM DALE, Superintendent-General of Education, Cape of Good Hope: At this late hour I ought not to venture to make many observations. You were kind enough to ask me, as a late comer from the Cape, and I can scarcely in courtesy refuse. I must venture to say, as a South African colonist of some thirty years' standing, that it is very gratifying to come to a meeting where I find so many of those who are likely to have influence over the public affairs of the country, desirous of getting acquainted with the internal affairs of our distant Colonies. Too little has hitherto been known of the Cape, so that it is quite refreshing to see so many interested in the Colony. (Hear, hear.) I do not think there is any time to offer criticisms upon Mr. Robinson's paper, and it would be rather hard for one of Her Majesty's Civil servants to speak much about the policy of the Government of these South African Colonies, just after the Governor, under whom he has served so many years, has spoken. But I dare say Sir Arthur Cunynghame and Sir Henry Barkly will pardon me for saying a few words, and, as I am no longer under their official power, they will not mind my differing from them. (Laughter.) In regard to the paper read to the meeting, I do think that it graphically and with a great deal of poetic diction describes all the beauties of Natal; in fact, in one part of the paper it seems we ought all to go off at once to that charming country; but another part of it tells us so many terrible things that we begin to shrink back and to think of the fate of the 20,000 white people who are there. We begin to shrink back when Mr. Robinson tells us with exultation that "swarms of barbarians are always flowing into that country." You have got these 850,000 people that you do not want. It is a fatal policy of Natal, and was one of the things I was anxious to see this paper deal with, that we might learn how they were going to deal with these refugees. Our own natives are increasing so fast upon us, that we would be very glad indeed if we could find a Colony to which the surplus could emigrate. We could spare a few thousands. If it is the pride of Natal to encourage these refugee natives from Zululand and other parts, I presume that in time they can be accommodated with a million. (Laughter.) But what are they doing with the 850,000 natives? Little, or nothing at all. They are nearly useless, except to drink rum. (Laughter.) What I believe is, that if in a meeting like this, where so many are

anxious to learn about Natal, we could possibly see some solution of the native question—how the natives are to be dealt with in Natal—then we should get a little nearer to the solution of the great African question Sir Arthur Cunynghame spoke about, viz. Federation. I know very well how difficult it is to deal with the education of about 800,000 natives connected with the Cape Colony. But we have been working at it steadily and perseveringly for twenty years, and there is an impression made; but you ask the Cape Colony to go and confederate with Natal. The people in the Colony are beginning to understand the general wisdom and beneficial intent of the Imperial policy, but they say “How can we, who have been elaborating the native system for twenty years, and know that it is founded upon a right principle, go and federate with others who have no defined native policy, and who have got 850,000 natives amongst them and yet want labour—who import natives from India, and thus bring more black people to swell their population?” We are rather afraid of Confederation until we see how Natal is going to deal with these masses of Kafirs. You will say that is all very self-conceited in the Cape people in having too much faith in their system of dealing with the natives; yet there is a Kafir war! Well, it was stated a few weeks ago by the greatest authority there, that if it had not been for the effects of the native system carried on for twenty years in the Cape Colony, we should probably have had a repetition of all the atrocities of the old Kafir wars; but during this present rebellion there has been an entire absence of those painful atrocities which the Chairman could point to as having happened on the frontier in former days, the prevention of which has been largely due to the influence of the Scholar-Kafirs. We have gone on this principle—that the object of Government is to deal with the natives as it deals with every other British subject: to place within the power of the native the means of getting a personal individual status. He can acquire property, and he can get his children educated, and you put him in the way of rising to the respectable social status of a good citizen; and at this moment, in sight of the war, there are at least 200 native teachers who hold Government certificates, or are probationers, who are honestly earning the salaries paid to them partly by the Government and partly by their people. There are some native clergymen, who conduct correspondence with the Education Department just as well as any school manager in this metropolis does with our Department here, and who draw and dispense their Government school grants. You say, “How could there be a Kafir war?” The Kafir war arose from causes we could

not control. I do not mean the incidental causes of the beer-fight ; but the Kafir war must have come, for this reason : in dealing with the natives of South Africa it was the policy of the Government to try and put each native on his own legs, but it could not do so without a compromise. You have the chiefs in the way. The Government did all it could to weaken the power of the chiefs—it subdued them, and made them a kind of policeman, and so on. As Sir A. Cunynghame has said, Kafirs are instinctively a loyal people ; the Kafirs are the gentlemen of South Africa, and the moment the old chief sends out the war-ory their loyal blood warms ; they cannot help it. What will you do to remedy this ? Why, as soon as this—which we will not call a Kafir war, but a rebellion of Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa—is entirely put down, you will have to deal with the natives in such a way that nothing comes between them and the Government. You have to teach the natives that they are the subjects of the Queen only, and that their allegiance to the chiefs is nothing ; and you must take care that they are not taught otherwise. If we could see, if there was some guarantee, that the same just and Christian method would be pursued with regard to the natives in Natal and the Transvaal and so on, I believe the great impediment to Federation would be done away with. Everyone acknowledges that the great difficulty is with the native question. I must say that I was a little disappointed after all the poetic imagery of Mr. Robinson, that he dealt with this really difficult question in rather a flippant way. It is the most serious question ; and although there may be no immediate danger for 20,000 whites to live among 850,000 blacks, yet there would be danger, as elsewhere, if the refugee Zulus had the same loyalty to their chiefs as our Kafirs have.

Mr. FREELAND : How do you propose to substitute the loyalty to the Crown of England for the loyalty to the chief ?

Dr. DALE : Practically, in the Cape Colony, the chief has no recognised authority ; the chief usually receives a salary from the Government, but in some way he is recognised by the people, though the magistrates decide all cases that hitherto would have come under the chief's cognizance. Although the magistrates decide cases for each tribe and exercise their authority, the chief has always been before the people's eyes ; and that is a wonderful influence, of course, when the chance comes for the young Kafirs to get a taste of war—their young blood is fired ; they have nothing to do but to follow their chief. The simple solution is, when the 1,000 guineas, which Sir A. Cunynghame speaks of as offered, take their proper effect, then Kreli and Sandilli and the other chieftains

must be put in a safe place not to be seen again by their tribes. I wanted to say this, that although we feel that these disturbances in South Africa might be interpreted as owing to some defects in the system of dealing with the natives, I believe that the principle on which the natives have been treated is a thoroughly sound one. We have tried to do our duty to them, and that has gone on and given us peace for twenty years. The only defect has been this compromise. The Government allowed the chief in an incidental way to come between the natives and our Sovereign, but when we can get the chiefs out of the way, I believe that the natives will understand their duty to the Queen of England, and that their loyalty will be as true to the Queen as that of any other subject of Her Majesty. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN SANDERSON, of Natal: I was quite unprepared for such a flattering introduction as this, and at this late hour I shall not detain the meeting by more than a few remarks. If Dr. Dale finds a difficulty at so late an hour in calling out a few subjects for remark from Mr. Robinson's paper and the subjects alluded to by previous speakers, the difficulty is much increased in my case by the suggestive remarks of Dr. Dale himself. Dr. Dale has subjected the policy of the Natal Government towards the natives to a very sharp criticism; and I must say, to a very large extent, a very just criticism. The truth is, that the native policy of Natal has been a great mistake hitherto. The troubles caused by the chief Langalibalele, to which reference is made in Mr. Robinson's able paper, arose out of that mistaken policy, and that policy has received the severest condemnation in the despatches of Lord Carnarvon, which have been published and which are before the world. The surprise, therefore, of any thinking man must be all the greater to see that policy confirmed and strengthened, as it has been, by the maintenance in office, and the promotion to a higher office, of the very men to whom the mistakes of this policy were due; and it is with great regret that I have seen the policy extended and strengthened by the introduction of the Native High Court, to which reference has been made in the paper. This is not the time, nor could I attempt to go into a detailed criticism of the native policy in Natal. But the fact of the matter is, that the power of the chieftains has been maintained from the beginning of the British rule in Natal; and that is a mistake, as Dr. Dale very justly observed. The chieftains have, practically, everything—the sole power—in their hands in dealing with the natives, except in some very few cases. I think I shall be safe in saying that 499 out of 500 cases of disputes or quarrels never came before the British courts at all. The policy has always been to

allow the chiefs to deal with them ; and, in fact, if two disputants came before the British authorities, it was a common practice for the first question to be, "Have you been to your chief?" "No." "Then go to your chief; let him settle it." That had been the policy, and that has been the root of much of the evil of which we have to complain in Natal. But I cannot allow this meeting to believe that Dr. Dale is altogether correct in saying that the natives in Natal have done nothing and do nothing ; that they are a mere burden upon the land. The truth is, that there are a very large number in service, and a large number of them on mission stations acquiring the elements of civilisation and are being instructed in religious truths. I am not prepared—in fact, the statistics available are so imperfect that it would be impossible for anyone—to make a rough guess as to the number of natives in service in Natal. But I am glad to see a number of gentlemen who have lived in Natal, around me ; and I think they will bear me out in saying that the natives in service are at least equal in number to the whites, and probably double. That is a fact which would rather surprise Dr. Dale and others, who may have judged hastily from the prominence which has been given to that point in Mr. Robinson's paper.

DR. DALE : Those are people who come in and take service, and as soon as they have made their money, go back to where they came from. They are not your Natal natives.

MR. SANDERSON : Oh yes, they are, many of them, residents in Natal, although many of them come from beyond the borders of the Colony. Upon this point of the natives I should like to make one or two observations. We have heard a little in Mr. Robinson's paper, and a great deal in the remarks of previous speakers, about the natives and their aboriginal rights. Now, it is commonly said—I heard it stated in London only a few weeks ago—that at the time the British took possession of Natal the natives only amounted to some 6,000 or 8,000. The fact is, that, according to the best authorities, when the English took possession there were something like 80,000 to 100,000 natives in Natal. The large increase in the number of the natives at the present day is partly due to natural increase arising from the security that Kafirs enjoy under British rule ; but of those who have come in from the countries round about many are remnants of tribes who had fled before Chaka, to whose desolating wars Mr. Robinson has referred. I think it would be hardly fair to say that, if the tribe gave way before the advancing conqueror, and when he retired from the field of conquest they reoccupied their own soil—it would hardly be fair, I say, to deny them the title of natives of the soil, or aborigines ; and that is the

case with a large number of them—either they are aborigines and born on the soil, or they are their descendants. Then, again, a very large number of them have fled from the Zulu country. The tyranny of the Zulu chiefs has continued from the days of Chaka down to the present time, and that has caused many to fly; and it would probably not be an exaggeration to say a third, or possibly even a half, of the Kafir population of Natal are refugees from the Zulu country. Of course, this is the roughest possible guess. Much has been said about Cetewayo. I should like to make one or two observations with reference to him before I sit down. The Transvaal country has been annexed, Mr. Robinson tells us, with the full approval of the inhabitants of the country. That is a mistake; I think a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the Transvaal were opposed to annexation, and means were taken to obtain approval by measures which would not bear scrutiny. A very large proportion, of course, of the population expressed no opinion one way or the other; but it is well known that a much larger number signed against any connection with England whatever than did for annexation, notwithstanding all the exertions that were made to obtain signatures, and that by personal exertions of members of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's own staff. It is only fair that that should be known. As regards the Zulu king, this dispute, which is threatening to bring on war, is one of very old standing. Cetewayo, the Zulu king, is at a loss to understand the position of the present Administrator of the Transvaal. He says he was formerly an Englishman, but now he has become a Boer he has taken up the Boer quarrel, and has pressed that quarrel against the Zulus. Cetewayo has no small cause of complaint. It is within my knowledge that a few months ago—I have a letter in my pocket which gives an account of the efforts made by the Transvaal Government to raise a force of Kafirs in Natal, to be employed in the Transvaal, armed with guns, to be used, if needs be, against Cetewayo, the Zulu king. Cetewayo was well aware that this was going on, and that, with other things, has no doubt caused him to feel his position to be anything but an agreeable one. He finds his old friend pressing the claim which he had formerly discountenanced, when made by the Boers. He finds that claim pressed against him, and he finds Kafirs raised in Natal to be used, with arms in their hands, against himself. The fact that the forces will be raised in Natal with guns to be employed in the Transvaal has given rise to anxiety in Natal itself. I know many persons have been alarmed, because it not only tends to withdraw Kafirs from the service in which they are already employed, but the fact that the Kafirs should be taken

from Natal to have guns put into their hands, and to use them, is a thing which is not calculated to raise a pleasant feeling among people in Natal. Mr. Robinson made one remark about the natives being "natural drunkards," and I was glad to hear Mr. Trollope comment on the phrase. I think there are many gentlemen here who will bear me out in saying that it is a most unjust stigma to throw upon the natives of Natal, to call them "natural drunkards." (Hear, hear.) Like white men, they will occasionally indulge to excess. When living in accordance with their native customs, they occasionally indulge in beer-drinking, and this gives rise to serious quarrels, and a certain amount of drunkenness; and the ease with which highly-intoxicating drinks can be made from molasses has given rise to an increase in drunkenness, while the laxity of Government in enforcing the law forbidding the sale of rum to the natives has further tended to encourage that; but I think it would be as unfair to call a Kafir a natural drunkard as it would be to call an Englishman one. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. CARLYLE, of Natal: As a former resident and as president of the Natal Society, I will offer only one or two remarks at this late hour, and they will refer to the two last speakers. In reference to Dr. Dale's remarks, I think it is certainly an anomalous fact, that there is so large a black population and so limited a European population as in Natal. But I would say in the first place that I very much agree with Mr. Trollope's view of that; it is a very remarkable fact, and one perhaps which we may have as much reason to be proud of as anything connected with our Colonial system, to find a Colony with so very large a native population, and, at the same time, so growing a population. I would wish further to make this remark, that I agree with Mr. Sanderson in what he has stated, that there is a certain amount of progress in Natal, and that the Government of Natal has not been neglectful of native advancement. I think, to view the question fairly, comparing Natal and the Cape, one must realise that the Cape Colony is so much older than Natal. Natal has only existed some thirty years. What has been more fully developed in the Cape can hardly be yet greatly advanced in Natal. I would also observe in regard to Dr. Dale's statement, he has spoken of a difficulty in managing the native tribes in the Cape, and he has endeavoured to apologise for this sudden and sad outbreak in Kaffraria. Well, I remember Mr. Robinson, in some of his articles in the Natal local press, very fairly stating that there was a marked contrast between the Cape and Natal in that respect. Here you have all your administration and all your educa-

tion, and you have been endeavouring to give it to the native population in the Cape, and yet you have this violent outbreak, and are not able to suppress it so readily. In Natal, again, you have a large number of native chiefs, and with the one exception of the Langalibalele affair, which was so soon and peremptorily, and in my opinion so judiciously crushed, you have perfect peace; you have also the fact that very lately the Hut Tax was doubled, and yet there was no opposition whatever in the country. In reference to the remarks of Mr. Sanderson, I cannot agree with him in his views as to Sir Theophilus Shepstone. I think it was a miracle of government that with almost no army whatever—and that was his difficulty in developing Natal—and subject to an increasing native population, he was able to maintain such perfect security as existed in Natal. I think it was only a wise and a judicious promotion when Sir Theophilus Shepstone was appointed to the Governorship of the Transvaal. No man, except Mr. Brownlie, in South Africa, has such an intimate acquaintance with the native races. If, as has been suggested this evening, which I think will turn out to be true, our extent of territories should stretch up to the Zambesi, there is no man so capable of dealing with the independent chiefs further North as he. I think, therefore, that that appointment of Sir Theophilus Shepstone was an exceedingly judicious and wise one. No man in South Africa is more competent for the work. In reference to Cetewayo, and what Mr. Sanderson has said about his sensitiveness as to the employment of Kafirs with guns against him; I am not so thoroughly conversant with that particular point, nor do I know so exactly Cetewayo's feelings on the subject as Mr. Sanderson does; but at the same time there is that simple fact that Cetewayo was crowned by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and that he thus recognised the suzerainty of England, it seems to me. I am perfectly aware that he has attempted to repudiate this idea, but we do not accept this. If, then, in these circumstances, he violates what we consider our Colonial laws, I think that nothing could be more just—it might not certainly meet his feelings—than that we should employ our Natal Zulus, who are our subjects just as well as the Sepoys of India, in suppressing his regiments of ferocious savages. I have no hesitation in adding that Cetewayo is a ferocious savage, and that he has been guilty of the murder of Christians in the Zululand. I have the authority of the missionaries connected with the Hermannsburg Mission, and the Norwegian Mission, for saying that he was directly responsible for the murder of those persons. We cannot, therefore, anticipate

that there will ever be much security for peace as long as we have so ferocious a chief in the neighbourhood, if recognised as independent. I will only say in conclusion, what is more perhaps in my way as a clergyman, that I think it has been somewhat overlooked, the immense value of missions in South Africa in the advancement of civilisation. I have it on the authority of Dr. Faliri, of the Rhenish Mission, that except for the missions in Namaqualand, it would have been impossible to have annexed those countries. It has been the result of the civilising and the Christianising processes that have been carried on by the missionaries. I much appreciate all that Mr. Trollope has said about the value of labour, but I believe that no persons in South Africa have been so instrumental in training the natives to work, not only training them in words, but training them by their own example; and it is also true of the Cape and Natal that there are no educators who are doing so large an amount of work amongst the natives as the Christian missionaries. That testimony has been borne very lately in reference to Basutoland in connection with the French Missions, and the admirable work they have effected, and the remark applies, I think, to other parts of the Colonies of South Africa.

Mr. SANDERSON: I think Cetewayo from the first has repudiated anything like having submitted himself to the English crown as its subject; he acknowledges what in Kafir phraseology is called "The Fatherhood" of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, or the Natal Government towards the Zulu king; he calls our Queen his "Mother," but what that implies in Kafir phraseology I am not prepared to say. (Laughter.) I think it is a very great stretch indeed on Mr. Robinson's part, and still more on Dr. Carlyle's part, to say that he has recognised the Queen as his sovereign. I believe that from the first he has repudiated that; and I am not prepared to assume that, because it would alter the complexion of the whole affair if that be assumed. It is a position he denies, and always has.

Mr. G. P. MOODIE said that he had heard with pleasure the lively sketch of Natal given in Mr. Robinson's paper. He had, however, taken note of one passage, and it occurred to him, knowing Mr. Robinson's thorough acquaintance, and the warm interest he took in the welfare of the country, that he would have dwelt more upon the matter referred to, as it was one of the first importance. He had, however, in a great measure been forestalled by what had fallen from Dr. Dale, whose views he entirely endorsed. Mr. Robinson had referred to the swarm of barbarians massed together

in locations, and leading, in uninterrupted seclusion and unmitigated barbarism, the life of the savage. This, he thought, was the great evil under which the country laboured. It was the want of a defined and consistent native policy, establishing the relative position and duties of the civilised and barbarian race, which led to discontent on the part of the colonist as well as the native. It was this which had driven the Boers out of the Colony, and that has been at the bottom of every Kafir war. He was glad, however, to see that the policy for which Boer as well as English colonist has ever yearned, has now been advocated by a gentleman who is the son of one who represents the head of the philanthropic society of England. The Hon. Cecil Ashley, in a report to Sir Bartle Frere, which the latter has sent to the Colonial Office and recommended as worthy of careful consideration, has stated that where the civilised power is brought into contact with the uncivilised, where law and order find themselves unavoidably neighbours to anarchy, civilisation cannot stand still, it must for its own sake be aggressive, lest if law and order be not forcibly imposed anarchy may render both impossible. He further says: "You must break up the power of the chiefs, for so long as that is unimpaired you can have but little hope for the permanent tranquillity of the tribe. The natives are but grown-up children," he says "and must be treated as such. Vacillation is fatal. I believe it is oftener safer to be harsh, if only firm and consistent," &c.* These sentiments are all that the colonists have contended for, and when advocated by such authority there will be hope. Mr. Trollope and others have spoken with great self-satisfaction of the peaceful condition of Natal, and the sublime spectacle of natives courting our rule instead of becoming annihilated before it. This ought to be a matter of comfort to the Natal colonist, and he alone can claim whatever credit may be due, as it takes away the stigma which is too commonly attached to them for a desire to ill-treat the natives; but he (Mr. Moodie) would for one repudiate any credit on that score. The fact is, the evil has yet to come; we are only harbouring it up for the future. The Natal Kafirs are a self-asserting,

* Sir H. Barkly, the late Governor, stated at the meeting in reference to the sale of fire-arms to the natives, that it was not, as had been alleged, indiscriminately allowed, but was controlled by the issue of licenses from the Government, in which the magistrate certified that the holder was a fit and proper person to possess a gun. That such a regulation existed I am aware, but the practice at the Diamond Fields has been to issue these licenses in blank, or otherwise *indiscriminately*, and the result has been that the British magistrates have found among the natives who were subsequently arrayed against the Transvaal, and now against our own Government, 200,000 fit and proper persons to hold guns.

strong, and manly race, given to agricultural pursuits and attached to the soil, and have in them none of those qualities of the nomadic, pastoral, or hunting races who have been unable to settle down under the white man. That peace has been hitherto preserved, has been mainly due to the fact of there being refugees from the Zulu country, and to the presence of the Zulu nation in their immediate proximity. The same evils which are now prevailing in the Eastern Province will also occur here, unless measures be taken in anticipation.

MR. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS: Although I am always glad to hear Mr. Anthony Trollope on any subject, yet I think when he discourses on "Mrs. Proudie," or "The Prime Minister," or "Is he Popenjoy?" he is far more in his element than when he speaks on a Colonial question. As a writer of fiction he is almost perfection, but when he mistakes his vocation and takes to dealing with Colonial facts, he soon finds himself out of his element altogether. There is nothing more mischievous than for a man to go into a country with reputation as a successful writer of fiction, and get crammed by all the persons he meets with and with all the hotel stories of the places through which he has travelled, and come back and expect his work to be a text-book for all. I am not prepared to accept any work of that kind in respect to any country of which it may be written. It is mischievous in the extreme. I should not have made these remarks on the present occasion, but I saw at once, after all Mr. Trollope had said, that, as to some of his statistics, when he attempted to compare South Africa with Australia he was completely at sea. If we are to accept all the statements made this evening—and I accept every one of them—then South Africa is in a very bad state indeed. We are told that difficulties have been foreseen for twenty years past in the Cape Colony, nay, that these difficulties were seen so long ago that they provided against them, and successfully, but that they refused to permit Natal or any other part of South Africa to join them in order that they might share the advantages which had accrued to the Cape Colony. (Laughter.) That is the substance of the argument we have heard. We have dealt so well with the native question in the Cape Colony that we could not permit any other Colony to join us and take the benefit of the experience we have had. (A laugh.) I would suggest that a more Christian spirit should be exhibited by the Cape colonists—(laughter)—who, having succeeded so well in the management of that part of the world, ought to ask all those other districts of South Africa to join and share in the blessings which that more enlightened district has

obtained. (Great laughter.) You have all sorts and varieties of government in the Cape: you have representative government, presided over by a Governor, with a responsible Ministry, who, as soon as he crosses that border line—there has been some alteration lately, and I am not sure which line (laughter), but one of those border lines, it does not matter which—as soon as he crosses that border line and passes outside the Cape Colony, he has to change his advisers and put on another cocked hat, and at once ceases to be a Governor, becomes a Lord High Commissioner, and can act on his own personal responsibility. I believe that is the fact, Sir Henry Barkly?

Sir HENRY BARKLY: I cannot say how that is.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I made that shot haphazard. I believe that the civil responsibilities of a Minister do not extend as actual authority beyond the limits of the Cape Colony. The other parts of South Africa are under different governments altogether: you have the Orange Free State, you have Sir Garnet Wolseley's "Irish stew" in the Natal district—(laughter)—and you have something different in the method of government in Griqualand West—in fact, if anything could be said in favour of a system like the proposed federation in any part of the Queen's dominions, I believe that that part of Africa, with its very conflicting interests, is the one country in which there ought to be one supreme authority. (Hear, hear.) Another gentleman who addressed the meeting said that one of the great difficulties in dealing with the natives was that they looked to their chiefs as the supreme authority. I think it was Dr. Dale said that, and there is no question whatever that that must be a difficulty. But what do the Home Government do, as they do not recognise the difficulty of that, but when the representative of the Queen's Government out there, who is supposed to be, and up to a given time had been looked upon as supreme, had decided an important question affecting the natives, I think the "Aborigines Protection Society" (some of those exceedingly amiable, but utterly misguided and mischievous men), took the question up and set the Colonial Office in motion, who, entirely disregarding the doctrine now recognised everywhere, that those representatives of the Queen who are placed in contact with the natives ought to have their authority supreme, interfered, and completely destroyed the prestige of the Cape Government in dealing with the natives. I had to look into the question very carefully at the time, and I believe that that action of the Colonial Office in the case of Langalibalele—however right it may have been in itself if it had been taken in the first instance, yet having been taken in such a way as to over-ride the

authority of the Queen's representative in the Colony—was regarded by a large number of persons as calculated to produce mischief in South Africa ; and we can see that it has done so, and I know it is the opinion of a large number of people that nothing has been done to create mischief in the minds of the natives more than the interference of the Home Government with the South African Government over the Langalibalele affair—however right the Colonial Office might have been, if a decision had been arrived at in the first instance. To show the bearing of the case—it was not long ago that we were told that the Zulu king had engaged the son of Bishop Colenso to come home here and advocate his case before the Colonial Office ; such a course as that could only breed mischief. You will never obtain a proper authority over the natives in South Africa, or any other natives, unless the representatives of the Queen who are placed in immediate contact with them, are supported, and their authority upheld, unless, of course, any action taken can be shown to be absolutely wrong. I have seen natives in Australia, and I know the advantage that there is there of upholding the authority of those persons who are thrown immediately into contact with them, and those are the police. I will now only allude to one paragraph which has not been referred to by anyone else, and it appears to me the most important paragraph in the whole of Mr. Robinson's paper, and one to be pondered over more than any other part of it. It is this : " England, to whom Providence has manifestly confided the work of regenerating this old dark continent, has now before her an open field. No alien government interposes a barrier in the way. From the shores of Natal to the banks of the Limpopo her flag waves without a rival, and many years will not elapse before it has been borne by the force of events and the pressure of circumstances to the valley of the Zambesi. The mission she has undertaken will compel her to move on. No other Power can take her place, no other Power ought to do it. It is for the world's welfare, no less than for England's interest, that her rule and her influence should prevail from Cape Town to Nyassa." That is only producing in another and a better form of language the very idea I stated to this Institute just three years ago, when I alluded for the first time to the questions brought forward by Lord Carnarvon for the confederation of South Africa. I say it is the interest of England not only to annex these provinces from time to time, but to annex the whole of the South African continent that does not belong to any other country. (Hear, hear.) We see in this country our trades stagnating, and hundreds of thousands of persons who when they get up on Monday morning

do not know what they will have to eat during the week. That (pointing to the map) is only a small portion of South Africa, and it is only a very small portion; if you were to cut the map of England across, from London to Bristol, that south part would bear about the same proportion to the whole of England as that portion does to the whole continent of South Africa. I believe there is an enormous field for commerce there. You have a large population, and the centre of that continent of South Africa is not the wilderness that it has been for a long time represented to be. It is thickly populated, and as soon as you begin to teach the natives the advantages of commencing to use the products of civilisation, they very soon take to it. The native African ladies may not be at once ready for the delicate attentions of the French milliner, but they will be ready to buy yards and yards of Manchester cotton. (Laughter.) When you read, and every traveller writes, of the high price set in South Africa upon the produce of the Manchester looms, and the high price set upon the produce of the forges of Birmingham and England generally, I ask those who are looking for fresh fields for commerce, to say whether they cannot find that field in that immense country. Some years ago I suggested that a line of telegraph wire should be carried through Africa, and I see from the last advices that the Government Superintendent of Telegraphs at the Cape has taken that idea up, and he shows that the question is practicable; but it was known to everyone to be practicable before he took it up. They can do the same there as they have done in Australia; the only thing they want is a small oblong piece of paper—a cheque for the amount. (Laughter.) I can tell you this, that about eight months of the bills that the Cape colonists are at present paying for their fighting in South Africa would pay for the construction of that telegraph. (Hear, hear.) They are paying about £100,000 a month, and about three-quarters of a million would carry the wire right through the country; and though I must say that if I were in command of an army anywhere, I should cut the telegraph wires, so that I should not be bothered with any instructions or advice from head-quarters—(laughter)—still in matters of commerce it would be different. If you see the necessity of finding fresh fields for commerce, to provide employment for the artisans of this country, then I say you would, notwithstanding the rumours of war, see how important it is that the sentiment embodied in the remarks I have read from Mr. Robinson's paper should be carried out, and how important it is to the real interests of England that she should take possession as soon as she can of the whole of the South African continent,

should settle all these difficulties and the form of government, and make it, as it has been called some years ago, and as it is being called in this paper, "one great South African Dominion." (Applause).

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Henry Blaine): I think we all feel very gratified by the discussion we have heard. I have simply to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Robinson for his valuable paper, and I am sure our thanks are due to the Honorary Secretary for undertaking so laborious a task as reading such a long paper.

The votes were unanimously accorded.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, on behalf of Mr. Robinson, acknowledged the vote of thanks which had been passed, and said that he should have great pleasure in communicating it to him. He was sure that Mr. Robinson would feel much gratified at the reception his paper had met with, and at the interesting and important discussion it had elicited.

EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, June 4th, 1878. In the absence of the President, His Grace the Duke of Manchester, the chair was occupied by the Right Hon. the EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.

Amongst those present were :—

Sir Charles Stirling, Bart.; Sir John H. de Villiers (Chief Justice, Cape Colony), Dr. George Bennett (Sydney), Colonel William Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.; Messrs. F. A. Ball (Canada), Charles Guthrie, A. R. Campbell-Johnstone, Henry de Mosenthal (Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony), Hyde Clarke, Thomas Massey, Mrs. Carey Hobson, Miss A. W. Buckland, Dr. W. R. Pugh (Victoria, Australia), Messrs. Frank E. Metcalfe, George Tinline, W. L. Shepherd, Henry Blaine, W. Farnham, F. P. Labilliere, Adolphus Focking, James H. Kennedy (Diamond Fields, South Africa), Dr. A. Bisset Thom (Manitoba, Canada), Rev. J. Long, Messrs. C. Holden, A. Nathan, T. H. Holt, Robert M. Holt, James B. Stephen, W. T. Deverell, D. Mackenzie Ross, Thomas Glanville (Jamaica), G. W. Kardy, E. H. Godsall, Edwin Ransome, W. B. D'Almeida, H. P. Maurice, Thomas Flewman (Cape Colony), H. W. Freeland, and Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.)

THE HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Young) read the Minutes of the preceding Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed; and the CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. YOUNG to read the following paper by GAVIN GATHERAL, Esq., H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul, Angora, entitled—

NOTES ON THE ANGORA OR MOHAIR GOAT, AND ITS NATURALISATION IN BRITISH COLONIES.

The animal known in Europe as the Angora Goat is the *Capra hircus* of naturalists, and has for many centuries been a native of the central plateaus and mountains of Asiatic Turkey. Some information regarding it from one who has resided several years in that district, and made its history, habits, and peculiarities a subject of observation and study, may prove of interest to colonists.

From a very early period these beautiful animals have attracted the attention of travellers and naturalists, and efforts have been made to introduce them into Europe; as early as the year 1554, Busbek, the ambassador of Holland at Constantinople, having

drawn up a report on the subject, and urged his Government to import some specimens. That attempt and other similar ones met with little success, the climate being found unsuitable; humidity being a great enemy to the length and lustre of the fleece, these being the qualities that make this staple esteemed as next in value to silk.

The characteristics of the climate and soil of Central Asia Minor are extreme dryness, an average elevation of 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, and an abundant growth of oak, either in the form of trees or scrub-brush, the leaves of which furnish the goats with their favourite food, not only whilst green in summer, but dried for winter fodder. In addition to the varieties of oak mentioned, these plateaus grow only a scant supply of the short tufted grass common to most high levels. During the intense heat of summer even this meagre herbage is burnt up; but these goats seem to thrive and find sustenance when any other animal would perish.

In appearance they are somewhat smaller than the common goat; the fleece, when full-grown, hangs in natural ringlets almost touching the ground; the head is small and shapely; and both sexes have flat, corrugated horns, from eighteen to twenty-four inches long, according to age, that diverge from the top of the head. On the wide plateaus and in deep gullies of Central Asia Minor these goats are tended in flocks of from 200 to 5,000 head, generally mixed with sheep, which is found advantageous to the pastures, as they are more enterprising than the latter, and by breaking up the flock, prevent the sheep cropping the scant herbage too short. To an enthusiast on such subjects there are few more beautiful objects than a large flock in full fleece scattered over some rugged mountain side, under the unclouded blue of an Asiatic sky, their snowy fleeces glittering like silver in the brilliant sunshine. The shepherd attaches small bronze bells to the necks of the rams, and these make a monotonous but musical chime as they move about. They are very tame and not at all timid, and will readily approach when called to lick the hand held out to them: they become, accordingly, household pets and the favourite play-mates of children.

The folds constructed by Turkish goat-farmers are of the most primitive description, consisting generally of some sheltered enclosure surrounded by a low wall, and is little used except during heavy and continuous rain. They evince great attachment to home, and can be depended on to return to their evening shelter at sunset. During heavy snow which sometimes covers the ground for two or three months, they suffer no inconvenience, as the shep-

herds strew the surface with chopped straw or dried leaves, on which they subsist. There is, therefore, little expense in grazing them, as one goat-herd with a dog—to keep off wolves, which abound—suffice for a thousand head. But in early spring, when the kids are born, they require more attention, as the young are singularly helpless during the first week of their lives, and the ewes show little maternal instinct; and if the kids are born during cold or wintry weather, they require to be sheltered and nourished indoors after nightfall. A running stream or good well is indispensable to a goat-run, as they drink a great quantity of water; and as they are passionately fond of salt, it is advisable to place pieces of rock-salt at the watering-place for them to lick.

Whilst referring to their habits and the advantages of rearing this species of stock, it must be admitted that no ordinary fence will restrain them; and they are so restless, energetic, and destructive, that cultivation in their vicinity has to be carefully guarded. Ornamental shrubs or hawthorn hedges have great attractions for them. Gorse and briars are eagerly sought for, and are kept carefully trimmed where these goats have access to them.

This class of stock does not, therefore, supersede sheep on good grass lands, but there are immense tracts in many of our Australian and American Colonies now practically idle and valueless, that, were these goats introduced, might be taken up and utilised in the production of a very important staple, both for local manufacture and export to Great Britain.

The breeding of the mohair goat and cross-breeding it with the common species is a most important part of the subject, especially for colonists, and with regard to it there are two different theories. One is that the best mode of beginning a flock is to commence with a few thoroughbred goats of both sexes, and trust entirely to their natural increase. The objection to this is the outlay at the outset, and the time that must elapse before a large number can be reached. The alternative plan is to introduce a small but choice selection of thoroughbred rams, and crossing the common ewe-goat with these, in three to five years a large and valuable flock is collected, only limited by the number of common goats procured at the outset. Theorists object to this system that perfect purity of breed cannot be reached, but, practically, every trace of underbreeding can be eliminated and the standard of the pure goat reached; the mohair being as fine, as long, though perhaps scarcely so abundant, as in the thoroughbred, whilst the silky lustre so much valued by spinners is undoubtedly greater. In practice, a combination of the two methods has been found the most profitable;

that is, a small flock consisting of say ninety thoroughbred ewes and ten pure Angora rams, kept carefully apart, and used as a feeder for a flock of a hundred or two hundred thoroughbred rams and as many common ewe goats as are procurable; the two flocks thus multiplying, the one by natural increase, the other by cross-breeding, re-act upon each other, and in a very short time a large and valuable clip is procured.

As regards the value of the fleece, both quality and price vary much, but what is known as fair average mohair is worth from two shillings and ninepence to three shillings and ninepence per pound, the average yield being five to six pounds, or say twenty shillings per head per annum. The flesh of mohair goats in good condition much resembles mutton. It is somewhat firmer in fibre and quite as palatable; in fact, those accustomed to both prefer it, and it is entirely free from the peculiar odour that characterises common goat's flesh. The wethers accumulate large quantities of internal fat, which is remarkably firm and white, and makes a valuable tallow. The ewe gives abundance of milk, and from it is made that slightly acid curd called "yört" in Turkish, so highly praised by Captain Burnaby in his recent work, "*On Horseback across Asia Minor.*" The skin is soft and flexible, can be beautifully cured and tanned, and from it in Turkey is made the best quality of what is known in Europe as Morocco leather. The skin when taken off with the hair is also a valuable article of merchandise. Washed and whitened by an easy and inexpensive process, they are much prized, and command very high prices for carriage and drawing-room rugs.

The statistics of this industry show considerable fluctuations from year to year, varying with the general condition of the flocks in Asia Minor, and the demands of fashion in Great Britain. Taking the last few years of depressed trade as a minimum, the shipments from Turkish ports to England average 40,000 bales, of 170 lbs. each, of good or fair, and 10,000 of inferior, mohair. With regard to skins, &c. there are no reliable statistics available, but the total value at present prices will be a little over £2,000,000 sterling annually. This represents the full producing power of the Asia Minor districts, and were returning peace and prosperity to stimulate trade in England, the demand would far exceed the supply; even as it is, the industry is frequently much hampered by the delay and difficulty in procuring supplies; and this fact should induce Colonial graziers and capitalists to turn their attention to it. The manufacture being entirely in British hands, it seems only right that the production of the staple should

be theirs as well, particularly as it has been demonstrated that the Angora goat can be naturalised in many of our Colonies with perfect safety and success.

It will help to make the subject clearer if some account of the various producing districts is given, with the differences that distinguish each. Any good map of Asia Minor being referred to, a large town called Kastambol will be observed towards the north, near the Black Sea; Koniah to the south, Sivas to the east, and Eskisheir to the westward. Within those four points is included the mohair-producing district: it yields more than twenty varieties, each of which are easily recognisable by experts, but the following are the principal, and as Turkish proper names seem uncouth and meaningless to Europeans, the literal English translation will be added, as they are often very descriptive and appropriate.

Beginning at the most northerly point at which the mohair goat thrives, is Kastambol, the citadel of Kastam, a famous robber chieftain of the Middle Ages, a large and fertile province, but too near the moist winds of the Black Sea for the mohair goat to reach its highest development. The fleece, though lustrous, is harsh and coarse. It is somewhat unfortunate that the first selections for export to the Cape Colony for naturalisation there were made from this district; the facilities for shipment are great; but had other varieties to be noted further on been preferred, the result of the Cape experiment might have been more satisfactory.

Two hundred miles inland and to the southward lies Angora, the capital of a large province of the same name, that name being the Turkish corruption of the ancient Greek Ancyra. This province produces five different varieties from as many districts, each of them equal in area to the largest English county. Yabanova—or Strangerfield—produces a heavy lustrous fleece; Tchorba—or potage in English—a mohair so soft and fine, that it falls to pieces as soon as shorn from the goat's back. Tchiboukova—or the Reedy Valley—is remarkable for its length and fineness of fibre. Ayash—the Mountain Pass—produces a white but lustreless fleece. The rams of the three first-named districts are undoubtedly the thoroughbred; though smaller in size than some other varieties, they have all the "points" that a practical stock-breeder commends. Sheltered by oak forests during the short but severe winter, and grazed on the valley grass during spring and summer, they seem to find in the alternation everything needful for strength and vigour, as is proved by their being so prolific, the ewes having frequently pairs, and sometimes even triplets, at a birth. Jeevar—or Near Town—

is bright and showy, but full of what is technically called "stick," or kempy hair.

Beybazar—or Princes' Market—is so near Angora that the mohair it produces has no marked points of difference. The ram is larger in size, very hardy, and stands a sea voyage well. A few have been recently exported to Cape Colony and California, the result in both instances being highly satisfactory.

To the north-eastward are Tcherkess—or Circassian Village—and Geredeh—or Behind the Mountain—two districts where the mohair goat has been introduced in comparatively recent times, and though stocked from other districts, they there develop distinct characteristics, owing to the difference of climate and elevation. The Geredeh ram is a large and powerful animal, covered with a fleece that seems almost black, so surcharged is it with grease, but when scoured the mohair is found to be second to none in quality and fineness. The difficulty of access to this mountain region, and the antipathy of the Moslem grazier to the despised "Giaour," or infidel, as he calls the European, have hitherto prevented any of these goats being secured for export.

To the eastward are Sivrihissar—or the Turreted Castle—and Etkisheir—or the Old City: both suffered severely from the two years of successive drought in 1874-75, and the Siberian winter, and consequent famine that followed. Many of the goats perished, but the graziers being enterprising and comparatively wealthy, replaced them with stock from every other district, the result being that they have quite the previous weight, with a marked improvement in quality and value.

Due south lies Koniah, the ancient Iconium, the soil there being of the colour and character of brick-dust; the fleece of the Koniah goat is reddish-brown, and though this reduces its value as mohair, it is sought after for certain special manufactures.

On the frontier of Armenia and Mesopotamia, and far to the eastward of the district I have indicated, is a province called Van, which has hitherto supplied a great weight of inferior mohair, more resembling sheep's wool than goat's hair; but this is the only part of the mohair-producing territory that has been occupied by the Russian invading armies, and consequently may be looked upon as lost to British commerce for many years to come.

In drawing these notes to a close, it is only necessary to point out that recent events have greatly facilitated the means of purchasing and exporting thoroughbred mohair goats from Asia Minor to British Colonies. In former years it was as difficult to induce a Turkish grazier to part with a ram, as to get an Arab to sell his

favourite mare; but the wealth of this class decreases, as double taxes, tithes, and direct war contributions go on increasing, until his haughty and contemptuous exclusiveness has given way, and he begins to realise that he must accept the inevitable, and buy and sell like other people. These goats thrive well on shipboard when properly attended to, and care and experience make it possible to anticipate every eventuality, so that the risk of loss during transit is reduced to a minimum. For these and other reasons that it would be tedious to specify, it seems inevitable that the trade in this valuable staple should pass into the hands of colonists who are prepared to devote to its development the same care and the same expenditure of capital that with regard to the products of other countries has yielded them so rich a return, whilst the history of these efforts, their early difficulties and final successes, form one of the most interesting chapters of Colonial history. If these notes should add anything to the sum of knowledge on the subject, and help forward somewhat so desirable a result, the writer's object will have been attained.

NOTE.—*The cost of Angora Goats.* Rams: Thoroughbred young bucks from the best districts, two to three years old, with certificate from this Consulate of health, condition, and fitness for breeding purposes, £6 (six pounds sterling). Ewes: same age and breed, £3 to £4 (three to four pounds sterling). Expenses beyond Constantinople depend on freight, which varies much. Delivered in London, Liverpool, or Southampton, for transhipment, cost, freight, and insurance (against all risks) included, the rams cost from £9 to £10 (nine to ten pounds sterling), ewes about one half. For the Australian Colonies they could be transhipped at Malta, thus saving time and expense. The animals are always forwarded in pens made expressly, with every facility for water, fodder, and cleanliness. They are sent under the care of my own shepherds, trained for the purpose, and who have had much experience. The price quoted includes all charges.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. BENNETT, of Sydney: I have heard with much pleasure the paper read on the Angora goat, and I will give you all the information I can respecting it in New South Wales. At present the Angora goat is naturalised in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, and Queensland, and has been so for the last twenty years. Many years ago, I think about 1880, the late Mr. Alexander Riley procured a number of Cashmere Angora goats, a cross between the Cashmere and Angora, a few pairs of Cashmere (male and female), and a pair of male Angoras. They were obtained with considerable trouble from France. These were sent to his son, Mr. William Edward Riley, of Raby, near Sydney, New South Wales. After the death of Mr. W. E. Riley they got dispersed, and we have not

been able to trace what became of them, but it is pretty certain they all died off. I recollect seeing some of the animals in 1882; they were of a grey colour. The Angora and Cashmere vary in colour from white, black and white; brown, and grey. Melbourne took the initiative in introducing the Angora goat into Victoria, and they sent us a pair of male and female, very fine and beautiful animals. They remained in Sydney for some short time, and Mr. Black, of Mimi, Hunter River District, who paid a deal of attention to breeding goats, took charge of them in order to interbreed them with his large stock of goats. He succeeded admirably, because he found that the Angora goat would pasture on land which was not fit for any other animal to exist upon with any degree of profit. The flesh of the wethers also is equal to venison; they require little shepherding, and the females breed twice yearly, having two at a birth. The animals went on well, and in 1868 Mr. Black wrote to us, saying he hoped to have half a hundred half-bred kids this year, increasing his flock to 850. Finding this part of the country too damp, he next year removed them to another station at Muswellbrook, which he found much more conducive to their health and propagation. In 1868 the hair produced was of very fine quality and great length of staple. He forwarded to us 14 lbs. weight of Angora goat hair; this we sent to London, and it realised 2s. 7d. per lb., and they said that if there had been a larger quantity they would have given a much higher price. Now many persons consider that breeding pure Angora goats would be much better, by insuring a purer breed; but in reality this method of breeding would take a considerable time. But by commencing with the common goat you can obtain by crossing, in six years, a valuable flock. It is urged as an objection to this system that you cannot get purity. This may be theoretically self-evident, but practically you can eliminate all the impure blood. This has been done by Mr. Black, and Mr. Clarke, of Queensland. Mr. Chas. Clarke, of Tasmania, sent over in 1874 a number of pounds of the wool of pure-bred goats, which realised 2s. 9d. per pound, and from 9d. to 1s. 6d. for half and three-quarter-bred goats. These animals have increased every year, and now we have a very large number in all the Colonies. An occasional importation of these animals to infuse fresh blood would no doubt be an advantage, and still further improve the stock already established in the Colonies.

Mr. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTONE: Having been recently in South Africa, and especially in the Transvaal, for some months, I must speak of what I found there. Among two or three families of the Boers I

found the species of goats to which Dr. Bennett has just alluded, and I was particularly struck on one occasion by the beauty of the fleeces they bore. Near one place, called Blaaw Copje, I think, I saw about 200 or 300 most magnificent goats, with fleeces quite equal to the splendid specimen on the table, curling, waving, and very long. These goats, however, need a great deal of care, inasmuch as wild animals still abound—among others the lion (which has not been entirely driven away), wolves, and a variety of small species of the tiger, as well as other things antagonistic to tame and domestic animals, and, of course, under such circumstances they require great attention; but there is not much of that care to be obtained. The black people—the Kafirs, as they are called—are not faithful in that sense of the word; you cannot rely on their bestowing any care on the flocks, consequently they have not increased as they should have done; but with proper attention, and the destruction of the wild animals by the farmers who may hereafter settle there, I have no doubt these goats will extensively increase, and become one of the principal productions of the country. I was struck with the prices mentioned by Dr. Bennett. He spoke of 2s. 7d. and 2s. 9d. This price agrees with what I have heard mentioned in the Transvaal for a pound of mohair wool. The Transvaal is a considerable distance from the sea, and if you deduct the cost of transport off the price of wool, I am afraid even at these high prices it is not likely with a transport charge of nearly 2s. per pound, to leave much for the producers and the consumer in the shape of profit to be divided between them. It requires something more than we have yet thought of for that country to make it productive, which I am convinced some day it will become—not in the hasty impetuous manner we all like to think of, but with the steady plodding habits of the people who have hitherto held it, and with the aid of railways, all of which they had arranged for from Delagoa Bay, an arrangement which has been interfered with now, since we have annexed the country. The hour will come when all that portion of South Africa, especially the bushy regions, which I may say are confined rather more to the eastern slopes than to the central plateau—they will all become magnificent fields for the production of Angora goats. The latitudes, the longitudes, the climates, which are spoken of as prevailing in Asia Minor, all indicate that this is likely; and, indeed, travelling in the Transvaal as I did, that was the predominant idea of an agricultural nature which occupied my mind when I saw these goats for the first time.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: With the permission of the noble Chair-

man, I will read a letter from Mr. Mosenthal, addressed to the Duke of Manchester, on this subject. It is as follows :—

BEER-LANE, GREAT TOWER-STREET, LONDON, E.C.

May 29th, 1878.

YOUR GRACE,—I perceive that Mr. Consul Gatheral will read a paper on Tuesday, June 4, entitled “ The Angora Goat, and its Naturalisation in British Colonies.” I am sorry that I must leave town on urgent private business, and cannot therefore be present at this interesting lecture. Several years ago I presented my pamphlet on the above subject to the Royal Colonial Institute, of which I have the honour to be a member, and therefore would thank your Grace to mention to the lecturer that it was I who conceived the idea of acclimatising the wool-goat in South Africa, as referred to in my above-named pamphlet, printed in 1856 and reprinted at Cape Town in 1868; and, aided by my brothers, Messrs. Adolphus and Joseph Mosenthal (the latter having since died), accomplished the same. In 1856 we succeeded in landing from Asia Minor the first batch of Angora bucks and goats in South Africa, which importation was followed in course of years by ourselves and by other firms.

In 1873, when I had the honour of representing Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa at the Vienna Exhibition, as Commissioner, I requested Mr. Graham, H.M. Collector of Customs at Cape Town, to state to me officially the quantity of goats' wool exported from the Cape Colony in 1872. Mr. Graham sent me a certificate showing the exports of Angora wool from the Cape Colony in that year to have been 871,891 lbs., to the declared value of £58,459. This has since considerably increased, and the Colony exported in 1877 about 3,500 bales Angora wool, each bale weighing about 400 lbs.

Thoroughbred Cape Angoras have been exported to Australia and the River Plate, but to my knowledge they have not been thoroughly acclimatised anywhere, except in the South African Colonies.

I have the honour to be,

Your Grace's humble and obedient servant,

JULIUS DE MOSENTHAL.

To his Grace the Duke of Manchester,

President of the Royal Colonial Institute, London.

Mr. HENRY DE MOSENTHAL: I have just returned from South Africa, having travelled through the eastern province, where I have some years lived, the country in which the Angora goat thrives most. The low price of silk and glossy goods within the last year has caused mohair to drop very considerably, and the prices mentioned in this paper, I am sorry to say, do not rule at present within 9d. or 10d. The fall has been considerable. I have lately been to Bradford, Yorkshire, where I visited several mills at which the Angora wool is used, and found that all glossy wools—the Leicester wools, for instance—are not at all in demand just now; but as a rule the price for average “ Turkey,” as it is usually called, is 2s. 11d., 8s., and

8s. 1d. According to my opinion, real acclimatisation of the goat is not possible; but it is only the adaptation of the animal to the various conditions of the climate in which it lives; and our Cape mohair is different from the Turkey mohair, inasmuch as it is more kempy, and the kemp runs further to the top than it does in Turkey; it is also shorter, as a rule. On the other hand, we produce just as fine hair, but a continual addition of thorough-breds is necessary in order to avoid deterioration. We have a great number of original Cape goats, and the trade in goat-skins was very considerable. The original goat has valueless hair, and it is with this animal that the Turkey goat has been crossed. The difference between the Angora goat and all other goats, such as the Alpaca and the Cashmere, is that the Angora goat is the only one which is shorn; all the others have a certain downy substance, which is within the hair combed out, and it was only to this discovery made at the time that my father and his brother, having introduced the Angora goat instead of the Cashmere, that we can attribute the success we have had, because any other goats would not have been able to bear the Cape climate or to thrive in the thorny bush. It is peculiar that on a farm where sheep have been grazing a *mimosa* springs up, which serves as excellent food for the Angora goat, and which the sheep will not touch. Mr. Evans has been most successful; he is one of our largest Angora goat farmers. Now this season, I am sorry to say, the drought prevailed in the Midland districts, and Mr. Evans has suffered considerably; and so have others in the Somerset district. Our production this year will be much reduced, and I fear, if the price of mohair continues much longer as it is now, the farmers will neglect the Angora goat, and will be no longer willing to spend money on new imported rams. I have seen most of the goats which have been imported within the last seven years in South Africa, and I know that unless we continue to import fresh blood year after year the surrounding circumstance will make the animal revert to its original state. The Angora goat has up to the present been a very fine source of income to the Colony, and if glossy goods become fashionable again, and the mills in Yorkshire are able to employ the quantity they did in former years, I believe we shall be able to make a very good thing of it; but the great thing will be always to import fresh blood. The reason why at the time my uncle Mr. Adolphus Mosenthal, who went to Asia Minor himself, purchased the goats mentioned in this paper, was because he had great difficulties then, in 1854, in travelling, and, as the writer said, the Arabs did not wish to part with the rams. Many difficulties had to be contended with at first, but now we can

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get them very readily; and if you send out a flock carefully looked after, giving them lucerne, a clover, which is the best fodder for them on the road, and sufficient rock-salt, you will find that the mortality is not more than seven to twelve per cent., according to the seasons. Insurance against mortality can be covered at Lloyds, but it is useless if you send out a large flock, as we have done of late. The last lot imported consisted of 850 goats.

The CHAIRMAN: I have great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks on the part of the Institute to Mr. Gavin Gatheral for the interesting paper he has laid before us to-night.

This was carried unanimously.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: On the part of Mr. Gatheral I have to acknowledge the vote of thanks passed to him by the Institute, and to say to you on his behalf that I am quite sure that he will be very pleased indeed when he hears from me that his paper has been so satisfactorily received. I wish to take this opportunity of calling the particular attention of those present to one or two points which struck me in reading the paper. It is very important to notice that Mr. Consul Gatheral endeavours to impress upon all those who are interested in this subject that there are different breeds of these goats; and especially, he says, that the earlier importations into the Cape Colony were not in his estimation of the most suitable kind. He refers to several breeds of the Angora goat, and that there are difficulties, as Mr. Mosenthal has told us, in the earlier stages of these experiments in getting the best possible breeds for the particular purpose. That is a point to be specially borne in mind by those looking into this subject; and I have it from Mr. Gatheral himself—who left this paper with me before he returned to his Consulate—that he is most anxious to assist personally the efforts of anyone who may wish to consult him about it, and to do all he possibly can to facilitate obtaining the very best possible breeds of the Angora goat for the purpose of exportation to different Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Dunraven) then called upon S. McBEAN, Esq., C.E., A.I.C.E., to read the following paper:—

THE PROPOSED RAMISERAM SHIP CANAL BETWEEN INDIA AND CEYLON.

The enormous and annually increasing development the steamer traffic between Europe and the East is undergoing, in consequence of the opening of the Suez Canal, has again revived a project that

was under the consideration of the Government just sixteen years ago, viz. the shortening of the ocean communication between Europe, the west coast of India and Madras, Bengal, and Burmah, and *vice versa*, by avoiding the circumnavigation of the Island of Ceylon, which, notwithstanding the erection of lighthouses on the Great and Little Basses rocks, is still, and must always be, attended with great danger and loss of time and money.

The Select Committee, presided over by Sir James Elphinstone, appointed in 1862 to consider this question, came to the conclusion "that further inquiries should be prosecuted on the spot as soon as possible to ascertain with certainty whether the passage between Ceylon and the mainland of India can be made safe and practicable for the general trade at a moderate expense." No action was taken upon this recommendation until the middle of 1871, when the Ceylon Government requested Mr. Townshend, Superintendent of Plymouth Breakwater, to consider the question and report thereon.

A tortuous and intricate channel had long existed between the island of Ramiseram and Point Tonitori, Madras Presidency, which had been deepened by the Madras Government from 8½ feet to 11 and 12 feet of water, at a cost of rather more than £40,000. Under the direction of Mr. Townshend, surveys on an elaborate and extensive scale were made in this neighbourhood by a party of Ceylon Government surveyors, commanded by Mr. Stoddart. A report based upon these surveys was submitted to the Ceylon Government in November, 1871, recommending the adoption of a scheme for deepening and widening the present tortuous channel in preference to all other proposals, as being the best and cheapest route from the Gulf of Manaar to Palk's Bay.

This channel is now seven miles long, between 80 feet soundings at either end of it, and it has been proposed to deepen it from 12 feet to 26 feet throughout at low water, with 80 feet at either entrance, at a cost of £1,886,786, according to Mr. Townshend's estimate.

If it can be shown that a more direct and better channel in every respect can be made at a much less cost, it will no doubt be adopted in preference to this proposal of Mr. Townshend's, which combines in itself many disadvantages of a serious nature besides that of great cost.

The name of the present passage is Paumben, the signification of which is snaky or circuitous. In all ship canals this characteristic is, if at all possible, carefully avoided, and common sense would at once suggest that the shortest channel must in this case be the best, even if more costly; but when it can be reliably

shown that by cutting a direct canal through the low island of Ramiseram at a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Paumben, an expenditure of only £550,000 will be required to make it the highway of ships of all classes, no hesitation should exist as to the rejection of Mr. Townshend's proposal to deepen the existing Paumben channel at so heavy an outlay as £1,886,000.

Drawing a line due north through the island of Ramiseram at points marked A B on plan, the distance, from low-water mark on one side to the same on the other, is 8,784 yards, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and between the 80-foot soundings on either side of the island the actual distance is 5,184 yards, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This position is sheltered from the south-west monsoon by Shingle and Coore-suddy islands, and requires no breakwater to shelter the entrances to the canal, as was proposed by Sir William Denison in his project more to the eastward through the same island, and is easily approached either from the Gulf of Manaar or Palk's Bay in any weather.

I propose that the canal be 176 feet wide at base, giving ample room for vessels 50 feet wide to pass each other, and leave a space of 50 feet between them, and 27 feet average depth throughout, as shown on cross section. The entrances to canal are proposed to be 850 yards wide in 80 feet water, which would be amply sufficient for the safety of any vessel in rough weather. The ground rises above low-water level from 8 to 20 feet, the average depth of cutting being 88 feet, most of which it is believed can be excavated dry. The nature of the cutting is sand, gravel, and soft sandstone, which can be excavated without difficulty at an economical rate, either dry or by dredging.

The following are the reasons why this position for the ship canal has been adopted in preference to the deepening of the Paumben Passage, or any previous proposal through Ramiseram or Ramnad :—

1. Its greater safety for all kinds of vessels in either monsoon, approached from north or south.
2. The shortness of the route, both locally and generally.
3. Less costly to execute and maintain ever after.
4. Time for construction, much less than seven miles of dredging.
5. Greater reliability always, and less danger from silting up from cross currents.
6. Complete shelter from monsoons, and facility of passage at all seasons consequently ensured.
7. The site for docks, railway stations, and all the concomitant

features of the combined schemes of canal, docks, and railway, could not be surpassed anywhere.

8. The Paumben Passage would remain open during the construction of the new canal, but the adoption of the scheme for the deepening of the passage itself would impede seriously, if not entirely obstruct, the navigation of large coasting vessels while operations were being carried on.

(1) *Safety*.—The canal, from its sheltered position and direction due north and south, would even in the south-west monsoon be almost still water, the Shingle and Cooresuddy Islands completely protecting the southern entrance, and a straight course could be held from Manaar Gulf into Palk's Bay, and *vice versa*. The Paumben Passage is tortuous and uncertain, and the slightest deviation from the necessary winding course would entail grounding in an open sea, and consequent damage. This is a serious objection to the use of the Paumben Passage for the long steamships of the present build, and, indeed, it may be said to be fatal.

(2) *The shortness of the route*.—It is more direct, being four miles shorter than the present Paumben Passage. The distance between the thirty feet soundings in the Gulf of Manaar and Palks Bay is just seven miles by the Paumben Passage, and by the proposed Ramiseram Canal barely three miles. When head winds and currents are to be encountered on the longer route, these four miles mean danger as well as difficulty. The shortening of the voyage between Bombay, &c., and Madras, would amount to as much as 350 miles either way, through the Ramiseram Canal, or a saving of about three days both ways, which on a steamer of about 2,000 tons burden, would amount to as much as £800, and at 6d. per ton dues on that tonnage, the expenditure would be either way £50, or £100 for the trip, giving a saving of £200.

(3) *Less costly to execute and maintain*.—The estimate for the deepening of the Paumben Passage generally to twenty-six feet, and thirty feet at the entrance, is £1,886,786—a sum which I do not consider too high for the amount of work to be done, and which it must be remembered is entirely under water. My estimate for the proposed Ramiseram Canal only, and the deepening of the entrances to thirty feet soundings, is £550,000, and the cost of maintaining it would certainly not be more than one-half the cost of maintenance of the tortuous Paumben Passage. The wash from the slopes caused by the action of steamer-waves would be the only silting up, and that could be almost entirely avoided by loose pitching the slopes for five feet above and five feet below low-water mark. In the Paumben Passage, deepened, the silt would be

incessantly carried into it from the shoal water on either side. This tendency to silt up could not be checked, and would go on unceasingly. The current either way through the proposed canal going directly into deep water would tend to carry away all silt liable to come from the canal banks. The maintenance on that head would therefore be of small amount. The steam tugs, dredging machines, barges, and all other description of plant usually required in a canal, would be on a very limited scale compared with the requirements of the Paumben Passage. Pilots and workmen comprised in the staff would be correspondingly less numerous.

(4) *Time for construction less.*—The time allowed for the deepening of the Paumben Passage is six years, but I am of opinion that seven years would not entirely complete the work. The proposed canal, on the other hand, has over two miles out of the three of dry excavation to a certain depth below low-water, and both the entrance deepening and the dry land work could be engaged in at the same time over the entire length, the sea ends of the dry land work being done last. I have allowed for this work the extreme period of four years, and can safely state that it could be done within that time, as can be seen from the following explanation. The actual cubical contents to be dredged would be about 2,000,000 yards, which at the rate of 1,700 cubic yards per diem for 800 working days per annum would be nearly four years, but as this quantity could easily be increased to 2,500 cubic yards per diem, the actual dredging time would be reduced to three years, thus amply allowing for bad weather, repairs, and other contingencies. The dry land excavation amounts to 2,100,000 cubic yards, and this could be excavated at the rate of 8,000 cubic yards per diem, or in 700 working days, after which 500,000 cubic yards under water must be dredged out, which, on the supposition that only 1,700 cubic yards per diem could be excavated, would require 800 working days, or altogether 1,000 working days, or 200 days under the four years. Since it has now become quite apparent that the canal must be made, every year saved means prosperity and safety to steam shipping frequenting these seas, now compelled to adopt the dangerous route by Point de Galle, which still maintains its evil reputation.

(5) *Greater reliability and less danger from silting up.*—A canal is easier to deal with than a deep winding channel in the open sea, which is more exposed to the actions of the winds and waves. The upkeep of it need not be a matter for serious consideration below the low-water line, as I believe through tide and current it will

scour itself out, and thus a secure passage from sea to sea could with safety be relied upon at all seasons of the year.

(6) *Complete shelter from monsoons and facility of passage at all seasons of the year.*—When the mouth of the canal is attained in either monsoon, a completely sheltered position has been gained and can be relied upon, the direction of the monsoon being in favour of a clear passage through. In the Paumben Passage, on the contrary, from its tortuous course, no reliance can ever be placed upon it, and in rough weather few vessels would encounter the dangers to be apprehended from the attempt, if an easier route were to be provided.

(7) *The site for Docks, &c.*—In the centre of the Island of Ramiseram the ground surface is only about eight feet above low-water mark, and comparatively level, being well adapted for the construction of docks (the rise and fall of tide being only two to four feet), which would form an addition to the canal project, but in connection with it would constitute Ramiseram the Port of Southern India, there being no safe harbour along the whole coast of India from Bombay to Calcutta (a distance of 8,000 miles), where repairs can be executed and ships refitted. This would in reality become a port of refuge, a graving and repairing dock, a general and convenient coaling station, for the shipping engaged in the Indian and Burmah trade. The Colombo breakwater having been constructed, the mail and other steamers would all call at Colombo instead of Galle, the Ramiseram Canal being adopted for all steamers to or from Madras, Bengal, Calcutta, Akyab, Moulmein, and Rangoon. Coaling would take place at Colombo or Ramiseram, whichever offered the greatest facilities for despatch and economy. The Ramiseram Canal would eventually be found so convenient that coaling would most frequently take place there, the coal being probably obtained either from India or from home. There is no provision for coaling now between Rangoon and Bombay, except by boats at Point de Galle and Colombo. The assumed time for the completion of the Colombo Breakwater is seven years, and if both projects had been begun at the same time, the Ramiseram Canal could be completed three years before the Colombo Breakwater. Nearly all the Suez Canal steamers bound for Madras, Calcutta, and Burmah now call at Colombo, and then make the circuit of Ceylon, causing a *détour* of 350 miles more than would be necessary if the Ramiseram Canal were opened. The danger round the South of Ceylon is admittedly great, and the warnings given by the wrecks at Galle and Dondra Head annually should be sufficient to induce action to be taken to obtain the speediest means

of avoiding that increasing peril without delay. I have pointed out that the safest and speediest means is by cutting the canal through the Island of Ramiseraam at one and a quarter miles east of Paumben. Supplies could be obtained from the adjoining rich provinces of India (Madura, Tanjore, and Tinnevely); and I believe that a light railway constructed from the Southern Madras Railway to go through Ramnad and Paumben, closing up the present passage by a fixed bridge, would bring a great portion of the produce of the above-mentioned provinces to be shipped at the Ramiseraam Docks. This would in reality constitute Ramiseraam the secure Port of Southern India, which is so much wanted now to accommodate existing trade. The canal must first be executed, and the other projects will follow in due course.

(8) *The Paumben Passage would remain open, &c.*—The huge dredging-machines, lighters, barges, and their moorings would entirely block up the present Paumben Passage while engaged in deepening it, and seriously interfere with the coast trade. The cutting of the proposed Ramiseraam Canal would leave the present channel entirely free, and would certainly tend to develop the coast trade through it by attracting a greatly increased population to Ramiseraam, in consequence of the canal works, docks, and proposed railway to connect Ceylon with the Indian system.

The distance from the Ramiseraam Canal to the town of Ramnad, in Madura, is thirty miles, and a light railway on the Indian gauge could be completed for about £800,000. Putting down a sum of £250,000 more for the construction of docks, the entire scheme could thus be completed for a sum of £1,100,000, or about £280,000 less than the estimate for the deepening of the present Paumben Passage alone, according to Mr. Townshend's calculations.

The Colombo Breakwater has now been under construction during three years, under the able direction of Sir John Coode, and in a few more years will have become an accomplished fact, constituting that port one of the most accessible and convenient in Eastern waters, as goods can be discharged into the railway trucks alongside the shipping. Under these circumstances it is certainly time that the Ramiseraam Canal should be commenced, that the two works may be completed about the same period, giving India and Ceylon full advantage of two great undertakings working in unison, and effecting enormous savings to both countries, and the entire shipping trade frequenting these waters, which is annually steadily increasing.

There is some hope of a connection by railway being made

between India and Ceylon at no far distant date, the Ramiseram Canal being spanned by a swing-bridge to permit the passage of the shipping without a break in the railway communication. This railway can be constructed at a moderate outlay, not more than about £8,000 per mile, Adam's Bridge being embanked, and will be of immense utility in developing the resources of Southern India and Ceylon, and giving greater facilities to the superabundance of labour in India, finding always ample occupation in the developed resources of the rich and fertile lowlands between Kandy, Trincomalie, and Manaar, and on the coffee estates. India and Ceylon have both suffered in times past, and suffer greatly now, from want of more rapid intercommunication, more especially between the populous Southern Indian districts, and the coffee estates in the mountain zone of Ceylon. The railway will put Colombo Harbour and the Ramiseram Harbour in direct communication with Madras, which will then be independent of its own projected harbour, never likely to be an accomplished fact, on account of the almost insuperable difficulties to be contended with.

The Ramiseram Canal, as a work of immense general utility, will give occupation to many thousands of starving Coolies for some years to come, and no better time than the present could be selected for commencing such a work. The same may be stated for the railway to unite the Indian and Ceylon systems. Both deserve the most serious and anxious consideration of the Imperial Government aided by the Local Governments, so that a favourable decision may be arrived at to commence both these great works at the same time, and as speedily as is consistent with official action in matters of admitted importance to the welfare of a very large portion of the Empire, as well as the eastern steamer traffic generally.

Batteries could be erected defending the Port and Canal of Ramiseram without difficulty and at very little expense. The entrance into Palk's Bay is intricate and can easily be defended, and the southern approach to the canal and port of Southern India can be defended from Shingle Island, partly sheltering the entrance.

The present tortuous Paumben Channel with its twelve feet of water is an insuperable barrier to the due development of the Indian coasting trade, which is confined to ships of light draught, or renders unloading and re-loading of ships of greater draught than twelve feet necessary. The annual expense of keeping it open is considerable, over a length of seven miles.

It can hardly be credited that there is not a single port of refuge or one where repairs can be executed between Bombay and Calcutta. Southern India requires a safe port easily accessible in any state of the weather, and this proposed canal will furnish the most economical one in connection with India by railway and on the route which is shortest round the coast. The prosperity of the Indian coast trade is greatly hampered and hindered by want of the necessary direct and safe route between Ceylon and India. No doubt increased facilities will produce an enormous increase in trade along the Indian sea-board, and it is quite clear that an expenditure of £550,000 will enable ships of any size to make the voyage safely and save 700 miles, instead of incurring the certain risks round the south of Ceylon.

As Colombo is becoming the port of call more and more day by day, and will soon be the sole mail port, it is still more necessary that this ship canal should be constructed speedily, giving shipping a tremendous advantage in the south-west monsoon which blows so strongly here, and would be entirely in their favour in making for the Canal, but against them in rounding the south of Ceylon, dangerously.

At a time when the competition in trade throughout the world is so great, no effort should be spared to make our own coast communications as easy as possible, by judicious expenditure of our abundant wealth. There is really a marvellous want of harbour accommodation around the coast of India for a length of nearly 8,000 miles, and the Government should seriously take into consideration that the necessity for it since the opening of the Suez Canal, and the partial development of the Indian coast trade, is greater than it ever has been. Indeed, since the failure of the contemplated Madras Harbour Works, it has become an imperative necessity to construct a safe harbour in a place like Ramiseraam, which is in the enjoyment of complete shelter all the year round, and accessible at any time. The excavation required can be executed more simply than in the majority of our docks at home, and there being no more than three feet of tide, no difficulty will be experienced in entering or leaving the Ramiseraam Docks whenever it is found desirable, no gates being required.

After the great outlay on Kurachee Harbour, rendering it the Western Port of India, and the outlet of the Indus Valley, no hesitation should be entertained in bestowing upon Southern India a port and canal capable of developing trade enormously, constituting an immense convenience to the general shipping trade, relieving Madras of all anxiety respecting its sea communications,

ensuring the safety of a great trade between Europe and India, shortening the time and distance very materially, and giving ships an opportunity of repairing or refitting without proceeding to Bombay or Calcutta.

The prosperity and welfare of all India and Ceylon demand the cutting of the Ramiseram Canal, and the establishment of a safe harbour or docks in connection with it, which would be simply an enlargement of the Canal itself to the same depth. To make a secure harbour at Madras would cost millions, and then it would be difficult of access, but at Ramiseram after the Canal is constructed at a cost of £550,000, an outlay of £250,000 more would be sufficient to make docks of about twenty-five acres in extent, easily accessible at any time.

We have a magnificent and glorious inheritance in India and Ceylon, which our enterprise has opened out to the influence of civilisation and Christianity, thereby vastly increasing the value of our property, and rendering the credit of England more stable throughout the world. We should consider it our solemn duty ever to be mindful of the prosperity of our Eastern possessions, and encourage their due development by every means in our power. These beautiful countries are sadly deficient in harbour accommodation, and their advancement is thus greatly retarded, and their communication with the outer world prevented to a great extent. My firm belief is that the time has now arrived when there should be no further delay on the part of the Government in undertaking what has been incontestably proved would be beneficial in every way to the local trade of India and Ceylon and the general trade of Europe with India for all time. The Ramiseram Canal and Docks should henceforth become one of the watchwords in Indian progress, and an earnest, steadfast agitation should be maintained in England and India until they have become accomplished facts.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CAMPBELL JOHNSTONE: I am afraid I shall lay myself open to be called a dabbler in many things and master of none if I speak again, but it happens that this Passage question has been known to me over half a century. It has been handed down from early times by many people to the present date, and the last person to take it up with warmth and ardour was Sir James Elphinstone. Knowing this, I saw him this morning and communicating with him on the subject, asked him to dine here, and make known his views. Unfortunately as M.P. he was unable to come, there being a meeting to-night at Portsmouth at which he was obliged to attend.

He, however, gave me a rough sketch of what his notions are, and what he advanced in the House of Commons a few years ago. He bid me say that, had he known before that the subject was coming on, he would have been happy to give a paper on the subject, and that even now he was ready in a fortnight, or some future period, to do so. (Hear, hear.) He showed me maps on a very large scale, and from them it appeared that there were three passages projected through that Siamese land uniting India with Ceylon—one by Mr. Robertson, who had, under instructions from Government to survey this passage and report upon it, done so; I read his report with patience and some reflection, and I must confess that it appeared to me that that particular channel which Sir J. Elphinstone proposed seemed to have many merits on its side. I do not know whether it is the one alluded to by Mr. McBean, but it certainly seemed to have many merits, amongst others, that when it came towards the continent of India, the mouth was screened by some internal islands and small deposits of rock and sand, and therefore required no expense for that sort of thing to be made, whilst the adjoining channel near Ceylon was cut, and required a breakwater made, which would have added largely to the expense. It seemed to me that the plan he supported was more economical than any other, and had greater advantages. If it is a hasty conclusion I have come to, I do not know. He spoke of its being a saving of three days' journey for all commerce which should go to India or in that direction. In the course of conversation I said, "Picture to yourself what you are talking of: supposing the 6,000 men who have now come from India should at any particular moment be required to be increased to 60,000; a saving of three days in their passage was a vast consideration." He spoke of the money it could save; he gave me the figures; I think they are much to the effect Mr. McBean has just alluded to. His particular channel was, I think, between 8,000 and 4,000 yards long. When you (Mr. McBean) spoke of some channels, you mentioned the dimensions of that channel; and I confess it struck me as remarkable, because, in looking at the report which was put into my hands this morning, I observed that the engineer for this particular channel had chosen for its breadth the breadth of the Suez Canal. Then it appeared to me that, if the Suez Canal can accomplish its object, surely it is unnecessary to make the passage through the island of Ramiseram larger, especially if it is to cost more in consequence. A large portion of Sir James Elphinstone's argument dwelt upon the fact that now that the Suez Canal is open, a large quantity of our commerce goes through that channel

up the coast of India, and therefore that this channel was more than ever required as an economical proceeding to keep pace with the Suez Canal. Another thing he impressed on my mind was that this project of Mr. Robertson's was neither speculative nor extravagant. There is great merit in that, especially in these days. It would almost seem that the Indian Government had instructed their engineers throughout the whole of these proceedings to show how not to do it, and to report and to give estimates on things which were not necessary. During the recent famines in India, some of the starving people might have been relieved had they been employed on this canal, and it could have been made with benefit to those people, with advantage to our commerce, with economy, and achieved in a remarkably short space of time. I make these remarks because I take a real interest in the Paumben Passage. I was once an extensive proprietor in Ceylon, and I may perhaps add that I am a native of the island of Ceylon. I was born there, and it has engaged my attention almost from infancy. On this account I could not resist the temptation of coming here, for the subject dawned upon me like some reminiscence of a dream gone by.

Mr. W. BARRINGTON D'ALMEIDA: I have no doubt some day the project placed before us will be carried out; but it may be Mr. McBean is a little in advance of his time. I should like to have known the amount of shipping, tonnage, and so forth that went from England to Calcutta, because by that we should be able to ascertain whether there was a demand at the present time for the route Mr. McBean has proposed. I have no doubt that a passage of that kind would be of the highest importance, but I scarcely think now that the want for it has arrived; when it does I have no doubt capital will be soon advanced for the purpose, and we shall be able to find an engineer as capable as Mr. McBean is to carry out that plan. You see when we wanted a passage like the Suez Canal we got M. Lesseps to carry it out. There was a want there. We found that to carry our cargo round by the Cape of Good Hope took such a long time—for instance, going to the Straits it took six months, but it was reduced to four months—and it was found necessary to make a short cut; but here it does not appear to me that we want a short cut yet. Mr. McBean has not given us proof of its requirement. I think there are other places where a canal would be more useful—there is, for instance, the Isthmus of Panama; they have talked of a canal being cut through that, and I should have thought that more useful to the community at large, and better paying than this proposal of Mr. McBean, because I should think there is a greater amount of

commerce between England and Australia than between India and England. Then, again, coming from India, there is another place of more importance still. Mr. McBean knows that a little below Assam there is a small neck of land at the top of the peninsula which has been talked of by Mr. Crawford, Vice-President of the Geographical Society, who advanced a scheme which I should say would have been better paying, for we know what a trade is done in opium from Calcutta to China. I hope some day Mr. McBean may realise his wishes; I have no doubt such a thing will come about, but not yet. I have always been led to understand that there were strong winds, east monsoons, blowing through the Palk Strait; that being so, I should say it would be rather difficult to steer vessels through the canal; but I suppose Mr. McBean would propose towing, which would get over that. I thank Mr. McBean for his very interesting paper.

Mr. LABILLIERE: I merely rise to ask Mr. McBean in his reply to explain one point. He said that a very strong south-west monsoon blew up, and would be very favourable for carrying vessels through the proposed canal. Does not that observation cut both ways? Would it not impede the passage of vessels returning?

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS (late Member of Council, Bombay): I am not acquainted with the locality mentioned in the paper, but as an old Indian I do not wish to let the opportunity pass without saying something in favour of a scheme which may tend to develop the resources of India. The last speaker but one threw cold water on the scheme, but I can only attribute this to the absence from the paper of all statistics of the coasting trade now carried on. If I had had this paper in hand before I would have looked at these statistics, and found out what the present traffic is. At all events, there is a considerable traffic now carried on by the British India Steam Navigation Company, which has vessels trading from the East Coast of Africa, Zanzibar, to Aden, Kurrachee, Bombay, and all round the coast to Calcutta. I have no doubt whatever that the receipts from that Company alone would go far towards paying a fair dividend on the small capital required to be invested in carrying out Mr. McBean's project. He has estimated the cost of canal and docks, and a railway to connect them with the Indian railway system, at only £1,100,000, the interest on which at 5 per cent. is only £55,000 a year. He has said that the saving on a single vessel passing once each way between Bombay and Calcutta would be £200. Now, if we take only one-fourth of this as the average of the dues to be paid by vessels passing through, a little calculation will show that to raise this small amount and give a

good return on the capital invested, not many vessels would be required to make use of the canal. He has not said in his paper how far his canal is from the Indian railway system. He says it is some 50 miles, but I do not see in the paper whether the town of Ramnad he mentions is on the Southern India line or not. I have no means of comparing the different schemes put forward from time to time for overcoming the difficulty of the navigation of the channel between Ceylon and the continent of India. The navigation now round the island is very tedious indeed, and no doubt to save even three days is of considerable importance. There is no harbour of refuge between Bombay and Calcutta, and anyone who knows the western coast of India during the south-western monsoon will agree with me that it is absolutely necessary that there should be something of the kind. In dealing with this subject you should take into consideration not only the coasting traffic between Bombay and Calcutta, but the traffic between the whole of the world and China and all our Eastern possessions. (Hear, hear.) If it should be found that the Government of India decline to take up the scheme, or are too slow in their movements, I have no doubt that if the scheme is put before the enterprising body of Directors of the British India Steam Navigation Company something will soon come of it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : I wish to make one or two remarks on a few points which have occurred to me while hearing this paper read. Reference has been made to the want (and indeed it is a great want to us, in discussing this question) of statistics in Mr. McBean's paper, but I feel quite satisfied that there is not a single person in this room, particularly those who are acquainted with the magnitude of the commerce of this great Empire, who will not be satisfied that the trade between this country and India is immense ; and, if we had the figures before us, which I would not attempt to quote without book, we should all be satisfied that it is something very vast indeed. This is not a question merely of a coasting trade, which is no doubt of very great value and extent round the continent of India ; but the direct trade between this country and India is a very remarkable, most important, and I may say enormous one also. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Campbell-Johnstone referred to a conversation he had had with Sir James Elphinstone. I think it is only right to say that we were extremely sorry Sir James Elphinstone was absent from our meeting this evening. (Hear, hear.) I had the honour of sending him, on behalf of the Institute, a special invitation to it a week or two ago, and he has since expressed his great regret that he could not be

with us on this occasion. It is, I think, worthy of consideration, that a most important question has been brought before us. Without pinning ourselves to supporting any particular project for the precise canal that ought to be cut, whether Mr. McBean's is the best, or Mr. Robertson's, or that of anyone else, it is a very important thing if we are able by ventilating such a subject as this to stimulate those who are likely to undertake such a project, and thus advance it a further step in the direction of being accomplished. Mr. d'Almeida has said that, wherever there is a demand, there will be a supply. No doubt that is perfectly true as a general principle, but it is also equally true that the world often goes on for a very long time without apparently moving towards it, even when there is a demand for something new, until some energetic projector stimulates the action of the sleepy public, and then it goes ahead in the right direction much more quickly than if left to itself to be developed it might be likely to do. Therefore I do not think it always follows that we must "rest and be thankful," and that we must suppose that, whenever there is a demand for a thing, there will be found an immediate adequate supply. It is by bringing conviction home to those likely to be more particularly interested, that many great questions are advanced rapidly into a condition of becoming practicable; and I think we have heard enough of this ship canal to-night to say that we hope the ventilation the subject has received may be the means of advancing this important question another stage, and, I trust, a very considerable one, whether Mr. McBean's particular project is the best one to be carried out, or a better one still can be found. I have never been in Ceylon; but I am quite aware of what great importance it is to shorten the distance between England and Madras and Calcutta, as well as to commerce generally to secure the best route that can possibly be made between different and distant parts of the world. (Cheers).

Mr. McBEAN: Mr. Robertson admits the importance of the Ramiseram Passage. He says in his Report to the Government in 1878: "Ramiseram at present is a barren island, not connected either with Ceylon or India by road or rail; but should a ship canal be made through Ramiseram, it is rather remarkable to think that this barren island will be the *only point in the peninsula of India, from Calcutta to Kurrachee* (not excepting Bombay, in its present want of ship accommodation) where a large vessel will be able to land and discharge her cargo direct on to a quay, without the intervention of cargo-boats." That is the very thing I am advocating—that docks should be made in connection with the canal whereby cargoes can be discharged directly on the quay, and put upon the railway

trucks to go directly into India and Ceylon, the vessels not being obliged to stop anywhere on the road to Madras or Calcutta, except at Colombo. With respect to Mr. Robertson's project, the difference between what he proposes and what I have advocated on the part of Mr. Stoddart, the Chief Assistant to the Surveyor-General of Ceylon, is this, that Mr. Robertson's canal at either end is in six to seven feet less water than the other at the same distance from the shore. That is to say, at one half-mile from the beach in the position adopted and selected by him there is only twenty-two or twenty-three feet of water; whereas, in Mr. Stoddart's position, which I have adopted as the best, there are but about three miles between thirty feet soundings on either side of the island, while Mr. Robertson's distance would be about four miles, and, being nearer India, you have to turn more in that direction to obtain an entrance into the canal from the northern as well as from the southern, and against the prevailing wind and currents. There is also, in addition to that from the southern entrance to Mr. Robertson's position to deep water, two miles of dredging in the open sea against one mile of dredging over a shallow for the other position. Mr. Robertson's position is one where the canal ends in twenty-two feet of water, instead of thirty feet, and I rejected it at once on that account, and adopted Mr. Stoddart's, who had lived on the spot and who actually carried out the surveys for Mr. Robertson and Mr. Townshend, and who had local knowledge extending over many years, while Mr. Robertson only went there once, stopped a few weeks at that place on his way to Calcutta, and took up what information he obtained and went on without inquiring further. My local knowledge extends over nine or ten years, from which and from the detailed reports which I have studied for the last six years, I have come to the conclusion that the middle position (two miles east of Paumben), between Mr. Robertson's and Sir William Denison's, is the right one, because on either side of Ramiseram, at this particular point, deep water is not far from the shore, and both entrances to the canal have natural shelter. With respect to the width required for the canal: the Suez Canal varies from 200 to 800 feet at the water surface, and has different widths at different places, as they have different materials to deal with and different positions to look to—some of it partly dry and some all wet, other places all dry, some in rock and some places in the land. The bottom is about 72 feet wide, unvaryingly, except in the lakes. That is for one ship passing through. In my case I have adopted 176 feet as the bottom width, knowing that the stuff to be excavated will stand at so steep a slope, that at the top of the bank the extreme width is only about

800 feet, or about the mean average breadth of the Suez Canal cuttings. The object of making the canal so wide is that the expected development of the trade from Kurrachee right round to Burmah and Europe to India in time will be so great locally and generally, that the canal will not be wide enough to comply with the requirements of trade unless it is constructed double width ; and it should be so constructed as to comply with the demands of European and local trade. Mr. Robertson's estimate is £440,000, but he does not include in that estimate the cost of deepening a length of two miles of shallow water over 200 yards wide. In the position adopted by me as most suitable, only one mile—which is through mud and sand, dredged easily, without any extra difficulty—has to be deepened outside the actual canal ; and I think that, with Mr. Robertson's including this deepening, a single canal in his position would amount to a greater price than the double canal in Mr. Stoddart's site. With respect to the monsoon opposing both ways, there is the southern part of India which shelters that position, so that when you get into the canal you do not feel the monsoon which blows in that direction. The southern part of India shields this point ; you do not much feel the force of this southern monsoon at Ramiseraam. At the entrance to Paik's Bay there is a reef stretching almost across between Ceylon and the mainland, stretching on the other hand from the north-east monsoon, and the whole force of the monsoon is broken on the outside, so that the canal in reality is well-sheltered water, both in the Gulf of Manasar and Paik's Bay. Another point that Mr. Robertson mentioned in his report in favour of his own project was that, being nearer India, he was more sheltered by the two islands, Shingle and Coonsuddy ; he admits, too, that Mr. Stoddart's position is also sheltered, although not quite so well as his own ; but he forgets to mention that he has got only twenty-two feet of water, while the other has thirty feet at the same distance out from the shore. The breakwater is only required for Sir William Denison's scheme, but its great cost, amounting to as much as one million sterling alone, condemns it.

The Rev. Mr. LONG : You stated that the Madras Harbour is given up ; is that so ?

Mr. McBEAN : The latest information that I have about it is, that they will have to abandon it, for as fast as they are laying out the breakwater it silts up at the outside, and they cannot consequently get on with it. And where it is made, even if they extend it two miles out, it will never give them proper shelter, unless they enclose by two arms approaching each other. Anyone who has

seen the beach at Madras will have observed that there is a necessity for a double breakwater, and it is not supposed that it can be done under an expenditure of millions of money, and after a great length of time spent on it, and even then it may be destroyed in a night.

Sir CHARLES STIRLING, Bart. : I should like to mention a few remarks that Mr. McBean has omitted in his paper. If this canal is made, people going to these docks on the canal pass overland to Madras instead of losing time and going through that bad surf which the landing at Madras necessitates. It will be also an advantage to the steamship companies, for it will go direct to Calcutta, thereby saving a great deal of time and risk. The distance by rail from these docks to Madras would be 200 miles, and passengers going overland there will certainly save time and avoid danger. It is due to Mr. McBean to state this in furtherance of his paper. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Dunraven) : I think we owe our best thanks to Mr. McBean for the very able paper which he has written, and for the discussion that has followed upon it. I cannot pretend to speak technically upon the subject ; I can only say that it is very important, and it has proved of great interest to me, and probably more so to you, who are able to take a more enlarged and technical view of the matter. I can scarcely agree that the Suez Canal was made when it was wanted, as one speaker said. My impression is that it was wanted many years before it was made ; and I further think that there is a great deal of necessity for some canal such as that Mr. McBean has proposed. The advantages of it appear obvious : it would save a great deal of the danger and risk of going round the south of Ceylon ; it would save a great deal of time, which is another word for saying it would make a great deal of money, besides which it would stimulate the coast trade very much. As to the size of the canal in its relative proportions to the Suez Canal, if it were to carry only an amount of trade like that which goes through the Suez Canal, it would not be policy to make it larger ; but as it would carry not only the trade equal to what goes through the Suez Canal but a great deal more, I should imagine that the proposition made by Mr. McBean not at all too large. I thank Mr. McBean for his able paper, and I have great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks for the interesting and able paper he has read before us. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks having been passed to the noble Chairman, the meeting separated.

NINTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Ninth Ordinary General Meeting took place in the Theatre of the Society of Arts, on Friday, June 7th, 1878. The chair was taken by Lord ALFRED CHURCHILL, in the unavoidable absence of the President of the Institute.

Amongst those present were the following: Mr. Donald Currie, C.M.G.; Rear-Admiral Booker, C.B.; Hon. W. Brandford Griffith (Barbadoes), Mr. W. T. Deverell, Dr. Rae, Mr. J. Duncan Thomson (Cape Colony), Mr. D. P. Andrew, Sir Bryan Robinson (Newfoundland), Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Labilliere, Messrs. Augustus B. Abraham, Jas. H. Kennedy, A. Focking (Cape Colony), S. McBean, P. Anney (Jamaica), H. W. Freeland, G. Molineux, Wm. Andrews, jun., A. Nathan, Jas. B. Stephen, D. M. Rose, J. A. Quinton, F. E. Metcalfe, Mr. and Mrs. Purdy, Mrs. Roche, Messrs. S. W. Silver, Hugh A. Silver, S. Hirsch, W. M. Farmer (Cape Colony), John Balfour (Queensland), J. Vesey-Fitzgerald (Victoria), J. Dennistoun Wood (Victoria), Rev. J. Long, Dr. A. Bisset Thom (Manitoba), Messrs. W. M. Beaufort, Henry Wellings, J. L. Ohlson, C. Holden, Abraham Hyams (Jamaica), T. B. Freeman, C. F. Gahan, Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., Henry Adderley, A. J. Adderley, Edward Ransome, W. J. Anderson (Cape Colony), A. R. Campbell-Johnstone, S. Conway Campbell-Johnson, Frederick Young (Honorary Secretary), and Miss Young,

THE HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Fred. Young) read the Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed. The CHAIRMAN then called upon THOMAS BRASSEY, Esq., M.P., to read the following paper:—

A COLONIAL NAVAL VOLUNTEER FORCE.

It is not surprising that the idea of organising a Colonial Naval Reserve should have been deferred to the present time. The growth of our Colonial Empire has been so rapid that the resources out of which such a force could be created have only lately been at our disposal.

It has been remarked by Mr. Wilson, in his recent volume on the resources of modern countries, that none of the Colonies were of great promise before 1845. Canada languished; New South Wales—then including Victoria and Queensland—was a feeble settlement, still troubled by a residuum of transported criminals; the Cape of Good Hope was almost Dutch. The total English population of the whole of our foreign possessions did not, in 1850,

exceed 2,000,000. The population of these Colonies has at least quadrupled in thirty years, and in some cases is now tenfold what it was in 1845.

Visitors to the Exhibition now being held in Paris will see abundant and gratifying proofs of the marvellous development of our Colonies, and of their ability to provide adequate means of self-defence. The Australian Governments have wisely embraced the opportunity of showing to the world their varied and valuable products. From New South Wales we have copper, silver, lead, marble, tin, slate, and opals; wine—including all the varieties of the French and German vineyards—tobacco, and perhaps most important of all, wool. From Western Australia we find leather, timber, silk, coal, lead, and wines. Victoria, which boasts of 800 trees and flowering shrubs, exhibits also coal, wines, and cloth manufactures. She reminds us, by means of pyramidal models, of the value of her productions of gold, and of the exceptional good fortune of certain adventurers. From the Cross Reef Mine £1,000,000, from the Long Tunnel 221,262 ounces, from the Port Philip Company's workings £1,500,000 have been extracted.

Queensland exhibits malachite, gold, copper, cinnabar, chrome, iron, plumbago, and antimony, sugar, coffee, wheat, maize, tobacco, silk and wool. The commercial and agricultural development of the Colony is set forth in the following figures:—

In 1876 the total value of the exports amounted to £3,875,000, including—

Wool	...	...	...	...	...	£1,449,576
Hides	...	...	...	...	...	79,612
Cattle	...	...	...	...	...	157,772
Preserved meat	..	...	...	...	...	94,642

The value of the imports in the same year was £3,126,000.

Queensland has a population of 200,000.

The live stock depastured includes—

Horses	...	...	...	...	...	130,289
Cattle	...	...	...	...	...	1,985,807
Sheep	...	...	...	...	...	7,241,810
Pigs	...	...	...	...	...	53,455

Lastly, South Australia exhibits copper, tin, wines, timber, leather, wool, and tobacco. With such a collection before us, we are justified in forming the brightest hopes for the future prosperity of the great Anglo-Saxon communities at the Antipodes. The page of their history is short, but they are a vigorous and energetic

people, eager to embrace every opportunity afforded by a bountiful nature, and labouring valiantly in the spirit of their well-chosen motto, "Advance, Australia."

The time seems now to have arrived when the Colonies should be reminded of their obligations to provide for their own self-defence, and of their duty to take a part in those naval and military preparations, the cost of which should be borne in due proportions by the whole Empire.

The necessity for the organisation of a Naval Reserve for the defence of the Colonies has been recognised by many writers and by several gallant officers, who have delivered lectures on this subject in the Theatre of the Royal United Service Institution. The brothers Colomb have been among the foremost in urging the need of such a force. They have shown what are the strategical points which are of the most vital importance to the integrity of the British Empire, and have earnestly recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission to examine the subject. Nothing, however, has been done, and we find ourselves at the present moment contemplating the possibility of war, and utterly unprepared with the means of defending the important outlying members of the Empire by those local forces which might so easily have been organised. Readers of the papers published in the *Nineteenth Century* will remember the imaginary but very forcible description recently given by Sir Garnet Wolseley of a Russian squadron performing a cruise of circumnavigation, making war on all our most valuable settlements, and winning a series of inglorious triumphs by levying black mail on rich seaports which could offer no resistance. It would, perhaps, be found more difficult to carry out such a series of operations than to describe them with the ready pen—which Sir Garnet so well knows how to use—but the bare conception of such a state of things ought to be unendurable alike to the people of the mother-country and of her dependencies.

The policy of encouraging such a movement having been accepted, there can be no practical difficulty in raising a Naval Reserve in the Colonies. If it be intended to provide the means of manning sea-going ships, the Naval Reserve which has been formed for the defence of the mother-country presents a model for imitation. If coast and harbour defence alone is attempted, the system of organisation adopted for the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers may be followed with advantage.

In considering a project for a Colonial Naval Reserve, it is essential to determine, *in limine*, to what extent the direct intervention of the Imperial Government will be required. Among a certain school of

politicians it will be considered that local defence is a task which must be left entirely to the Colonial Governments. They think that the Colonies are quite able to take care of themselves; that, man for man, the colonists are better off than the population of the mother-country; that it is the duty of our statesmen to rear up young and vigorous communities in habits of self-defence, and to bring home to their people a sense of their obligation to make sacrifices for public objects, and to share with the mother-country the burdens of military preparations. They think that the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the progress and civilisation of the world will be equally beneficial whether we live under separate Governments or remain united in our allegiance to the throne of these realms. In either event, Mr. Bright once said, "It would be the greatest pride and the highest renown of England that from her loins have sprung a hundred—it may be two hundred—millions of men, who dwell and prosper on that continent which the grand old Genoese gave to Europe."

Arguments not less convincing have been urged on the other side. The policy of a federal union between the mother-country and the Colonies had a warm advocate in the eminent statesman, Earl Russell, who has lately been taken to his rest. In his "Recollections and Suggestions" he says: "It may be a matter of doubt whether or no to build up a Colonial Empire. But it is evident that if Great Britain gives up her supremacy from a niggardly spirit of parsimony, or from a craven feeling of helplessness, other Powers will soon look upon the Empire, not with the regard due to an equal, as she once was, but with jealousy of the height she once held, and without the fear she once inspired. To build up an empire extending over every sea, swaying many diverse races, and combining many forms of religion, requires courage and capacity; to allow such an empire to fall to pieces is a task which may be performed by the poor in intellect, the pusillanimous in conduct."

The advantages of a pan-Britannic confederation were forcibly stated by Mr. Froude in the second series of "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

Admitting that these islands contain as many people as in the present condition of industry they can hold, he regrets that so large a proportion of our emigrants should become exiles from the land of their birth, while we possess dependencies not less rich than the United States, where our expatriate swarms would remain "attached to the Crown, where their well-being would be our well-being, their brains and arms our brains and arms, every acre of which they could reclaim from the wilderness so much added to

the English soil, and themselves and their families fresh additions to our national stability."

"The Irish in Australia," he reminds us, "are as well disposed to us as the rest of our colonists. The Irish in America are our bitterest enemies." Arguing the case from another point of view, he shows that "trade follows the flag."

It will be seen on a cursory examination of the Board of Trade tables that Mr. Froude is not in error, and that the commercial future of Great Britain largely depends, to use the words of Sir Julius Vogel, "upon the choice between disintegration and federation."

Foreign countries evince no disposition to modify their tariffs in our favour. If the Colonies are sufficiently short-sighted to treat us in the same jealous spirit, we may see a contraction of our export trade, and a reduction in the tonnage of our shipping, which will be the prelude to the decay of the British Empire.

In his able introduction to the Colonial statistical tables, Mr. Giffen points out that the Colonies have not hitherto adopted a uniform fiscal policy. The *ad valorem* rates on the manufactured products of this country, such as hardware and textiles, are in Canada usually as high as 17½ per cent., and in Victoria sometimes 20 per cent., while New South Wales raises more than half her Customs revenue from spirits, *ad valorem* duties on textiles having been abolished in 1871.

Sir Julius Vogel has expressed a belief that a Customs union between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies is not impracticable, and he has suggested that, if the Australian wines, which are now placed at a positive disadvantage as compared with French wines, were admitted to this country duty free, the concession might be regarded by some of the Colonies as sufficiently important to justify them in remitting the duties on all British articles. It will be the duty of our statesmen to set on foot negotiations without delay, if they would prevent the diffusion of the heresies of the Protectionist school in the young Parliaments of the Antipodes.

Statesmen of eminence have regretted that the Colonies no longer enjoy a favoured position in the Custom Houses of Great Britain. Lord Dalling remarks, in his "Life of Lord Palmerston" (chap. v. p. 829): "I remember Lord Lyndhurst once saying to me that the abolition of differential duties in favour of our Colonies was a measure far more serious than the tax upon tea which produced the American war; and, in fact, we thereby exchanged throughout our vast dominions a system of assimi-

lation and union for a system of division and individuality. Whether such policy was wrong or right will be judged by our grandchildren, when the British Empire shall have been contracted into the island of Great Britain, contending with Ireland as to her right to the separate existence which has been granted to all the other possessions submitted to our rule. The power and prestige which our generation negligently gives away to-day, may be regretted by another generation to-morrow."

No portion of Mr. Froude's argument is more telling than that in which he insists on the fatal influences which must ensue when an excessive proportion of the population become inhabitants of enormous cities.

"Athens," he reminds us, "lost her dependencies, and in two generations the sun of Athens set. The armies which made the strength of the Roman Republic were composed of small freeholders of Latium, and afterwards of Italy. When Rome became an empire, the freeholder disappeared, the great families bought up the soil and cultivated it with slaves, and the decline and fall followed by inevitable consequence. Tyre, Carthage, or, if these antiquated precedents are to pass for nothing, Venice, Genoa, Florence, and afterwards the Low Countries, had their periods of commercial splendour. But their greatness was founded on sand. They had wealth, but they had no rank and file of country-bred men to fall back upon; and they sunk as they had risen. In the American civil war the enthusiastic clerks and shopboys from the eastern cities were blown in pieces by the Virginian riflemen. Had there been no Western farmers to fight the South with men of their own sort, and better than themselves, the star banner of the Confederacy would still be flying over Richmond."

Mr. Froude cannot contemplate the enclosure of the English nation within these islands, with her increasing manufacturing population, and not feel a misgiving that we shall fail in securing even those material objects to which our prospects are to be sacrificed. With the assistance of the State he would send our unemployed multitudes to cultivate the virgin soil of our Colonies.

If the policy advocated by Mr. Froude be right, the vast tracts of unsettled land within the limits of our Colonies afford an ample field for future emigration from our shores. Mr. Giffen remarks that the productive area of the Colonies has much increased during the five years 1871-5, but is still very insignificant as compared with their enormous acreage. The area under cultivation (including sown grasses) amounts in Australia to about 10,000 square miles out of a total of more than three millions, and in the Cape of Good

Hope to less than 1,000 square miles out of a total area of nearly a quarter of a million,

Mr. Froude, in the passages quoted, gives expression to views which are generally shared by a school of politicians who are in favour of a closer connection with the Colonies. They are anxious to promote a federal union of all the members of the British Empire. They wish to arrive at a mutual agreement on all questions of tariffs; and, with a view to concerted action in Imperial questions, they are in favour of giving to the Colonies representatives who should sit in the great council of the Empire at its seat of Government. In consideration of the protection afforded by the fleet, they are prepared to recommend a contribution from the Colonies to the naval expenditure of the country. In his volume of "Recollections and Suggestions," Earl Russell gives a sketch of the arrangements which might be made for carrying into effect a policy of confederation.

A congress, representing Great Britain and her dependencies, should be convoked from time to time.

The metropolitan State might promise protection to the Colonies; and, on the other hand, a contribution of three or four millions to our Army and Navy estimates might be granted by the Colonial Parliaments, and an engagement might be taken not to charge more than 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on British produce and manufactures; or they might defray the expense of the aid afforded, and not interfere with the discretion of the British commanders.

In the views of those able advocates of Confederation, from which I have thus freely quoted, I generally concur, and I see additional evidences of their truth in the most recent incidents in our political experience. It is rarely possible for this country, under a popular representative Government, to pursue a satisfactory course in its relations with foreign countries. The greater number of those who take a lively interest in public business concern themselves rather with domestic questions than with foreign policy. Being without knowledge, they arrive at hasty conclusions, and every new incident that occurs produces a corresponding change in their opinions. Hence it is that our foreign policy is inconsistent and uncertain; that we disappoint allies in whom we have raised expectations, and make sacrifices for unattainable or unworthy objects.

The Eastern Question once disposed of, it is my earnest hope that the attention of British statesmen may be directed rather to the object of drawing the Colonies and the Mother-country more closely together than to Continental affairs.

In our relations with other nationalities we excite jealousy by our prosperity. Although singularly unselfish and unaggressive, our country is not greatly loved abroad. On the other hand, Old England as their mother-country still retains the warm affection of her Colonies. Our Government may show a chilly indifference to their concerns, but still England is still the "home" of all English-speaking people; and the identity of religion, history, laws, and literature unites together every member of the family by bonds more enduring than the protocols and treaties, however valuable they may be, which are negotiated with foreign nations.

The arguments in favour of a cordial co-operation of the United Kingdom with the Colonies in measures of mutual self-defence have been conclusively stated by several able writers in recent periodicals. I may specially refer to Captain Colomb, Sir Julius Vogel, and the author of a paper on "England and her Colonies," which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in January. We are reminded, in the papers to which I refer, of the value of the mother-country, for the inevitable development of the British population, and as the main source of our maritime prosperity. While foreign countries are steadily determined to exclude British industries from the markets over which they exercise control, the value of the Colonial trade becomes increasingly manifest; and, while we derive these advantages from our vast Colonial connection, it is obvious that, in proportion to their own prosperity, the Colonies are bound to take their share in defending the Empire. It is to be regretted that these obligations were not more strictly defined at the time when the privilege of self-government was conceded.

In his speech at the Crystal Palace, in 1872, Lord Beaconsfield said: "Self-government, when it was conceded, ought, in my opinion, to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by a military code, which should have previously defined the means and responsibilities by which the Colonies should have been defended, and by which if necessary, this country should call for aid from the Colonies themselves. In my opinion, no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects an opportunity of resuscitating as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."

From an Imperial point of view, the best defence of the Colonies consists in a powerful Navy; and it is because the naval service is constituted in part for the defence of the Colonies that we may reasonably claim from all our dependencies contributions in equita-

ble proportions, to be mutually and amicably determined, towards the naval expenditure of the country.

The latest tables, showing the progress of British mercantile shipping, give the total tonnage of the mercantile navy of the British Empire at 8,188,887 tons, and the tonnage of the United Kingdom only at 6,886,860 tons. The difference between these amounts (1,800,000 tons) represents a total tonnage for the Colonies but slightly inferior to the combined tonnage of the French and German Empires.

The statistical tables which have been presented to Parliament contain gratifying evidences of the rapid increase in the tonnage of our Colonial shipping. I give a few figures to show how widely distributed and elastic are the resources from which our Imperial Navy might be recruited, if Naval Reserves were organised, as they ought to be, in our Colonial possessions.

TONNAGE OF VESSELS ON THE REGISTER.

Colony.		1871	1873	1875	1876
Victoria	{ Steamers	9,608	10,622	12,656	—
	{ Sailing vessels	52,970	55,688	61,228	—
Port Adelaide	{ Total tonnage	17,018	22,361	22,866	—
	{ Steamers	2,422	3,135	2,773	—
Tasmania	{ Sailing vessels	15,125	14,894	15,544	—
	{ Total	27,107	30,035	42,025	—
New Zealand	{ Steam	—	6,783	—	7,192
	{ Sailing	—	1,073,718	—	1,260,893

QUEENSLAND.

	TOTAL TONNAGE.	TOTAL TONNAGE.
1873 British	Entered 170,173	Cleared 169,476
" Foreign	" 5,999	" 6,876
1875 British	" 390,069	" 362,703
" Foreign	" 5,165	" 6,245

It must be evident that the owners of such a large tonnage will be quite able to contribute their share of the cost of defending the harbours from which they trade.

It has been suggested by Captain Colomb, R.M.A., that one of the home dockyards—Pembroke, for example—might be closed, and the staff transferred to a dockyard which should be established at Sydney or Melbourne. Captain Colomb urges that, with our remaining dockyards, and the boundless resources of our private trade, we should be abundantly able to provide for the construction of new ships and for the repairs of the Navy even in times of the

most pressing emergency ; while, on the other hand, the growing importance of the Russian Navy in the Pacific, the extension of British trade over most of the islands in that vast ocean, and the great distance which separates our Australian territories from the mother-country, make it highly desirable to establish a dockyard in that part of the world. It is to be presumed that some contribution would be obtained from the local governments towards the expenses of such a dockyard, if established in their midst. The facilities which it would afford to the mercantile marine would present an additional inducement to the Colonies to make a contribution towards its maintenance.

The Colonial Governments have already begun to consider the question of local defence, and in one or two instances they have provided low freeboard ironclad turret-ships for that purpose. Victoria has lately voted a sum of £850,000, together with an annual outlay of £78,000, to provide ships, artillery, torpedoes, and rifles, for the local defence. New South Wales has voted a like sum for the same object. The Colony has formed a Volunteer Naval Brigade of 250 men, the annual expenditure on this little force being £3,916. In the Canadian Dominion, a committee appointed by the Royal Halifax Yacht Club, in a report dated April 14, 1878, strongly recommend the organisation of a Naval Reserve, a Coastguard to protect property in the event of a shipwreck, and a Lifeboat Institution.

It may be assumed that the Colonial Governments would be fully prepared to bear their share of the expenditure required for any complete scheme of Imperial defence by naval means, and we may pass on to consider what kind of force would be most useful for Colonial service.

It has been already observed that the most effective means of defending the larger ports would consist in ironclads or turret vessels, rather than in forts. Captain Colomb, R.N., has urged in his prize essay that the main object of our naval organisation consists in the maintenance of our communications by sea, and that our coaling stations abroad are the principal strategical positions which it is essential to guard. He argues that this object will be best attained by the maintenance of an adequate sea-going fleet, charged with two great defensive functions : (1) that of keeping the enemy in his own ports ; (2) that of keeping open the great sea routes to and from the heart of the Empire. He considers that this duty can only be performed by sea-going vessels, and that the building of powerful ships which are not fully sea-going, and which are more or less incapable of maintaining the ocean communica-

tions of the Empire, can only be justified on the assumption that the chief danger to be apprehended lies in a successful attack on our harbours.

But if, he says, our enemies are to career at will across our lines of communication, while we guard their terminations at headquarters, what will be left us to guard? He puts much faith on the sea-going fleet resting on the naval station as a protective force, and condemns with steady design the idea of the harbour defence ship. Such vessels are every whit as likely to be withdrawn as the sea-going ship, when they are wanted; and the only result is that you build a bad sea-going ship, when, had you never considered harbour defence, you would have built a good one.

Captain Colomb throws the local home and Colonial harbour defence entirely on forts, and the stationary and locomotive torpedoes. The supplemental local harbour defence corps is to consist of volunteer torpedo men, whose functions will be of a nature peculiarly adapted to the superior education and undoubted skill and daring of the men who would be enrolled in such bodies.

This view is confirmed by the recent report of Admiral Phillimore on the conduct and efficiency of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, dated March 15, 1858:—

“The opinion of my predecessor on the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers is given at page 7 of his Confidential Report, on quitting office, dated October 18th, 1876: ‘That they would be useful in the event of war, in the defence of the estuaries, while in peace they serve as a connecting-link between the Volunteer movement and the Royal Navy.’ Both at London and Liverpool the condition of the brigade is excellent. The Volunteers drill with celerity and precision, and are extremely zealous. They cheerfully conform to discipline, and are desirous of improving themselves in every way when embarked for their annual drill. In some places they might supply the place of the Coastguard temporarily, if that force should be suddenly embarked. They might furnish guards at rendezvous and places of embarkation to preserve order. Many of them have become expert artillerists. I think the movement assists in making the Naval service better appreciated and understood at certain places, and consequently increases the popularity of the Navy generally, which, if more seamen were required for ships of war, might be of great value in facilitating fresh entries.”

In his plan for the defence of our Colonial harbours, Captain Colomb is the advocate of a wise policy. The Imperial and Colonial Governments should combine to create a fleet of sea-going ships, which should be kept in reserve in the harbours on the Australian

station. Torpedoes and torpedo-boats should be provided for harbour defence. The Colonial Governments should man the sea-going ships stationed in their own harbours with their Naval Reserves, and they should provide the *personnel* necessary for harbour defence by the organisation of corps of Naval Artillery Volunteers, after the model of those which have been successfully established in London and Liverpool.

The number of sea-going ships and torpedo-boats and the forces of Naval Reserves and Naval Artillery Volunteers which would be necessary to man them, is a subject worthy of mature examination by a Royal Commission. Such a Commission should include, not only officers of acknowledged capability to deal with technical questions, but representatives, who should be authorised to express the views of the colonists with reference to the proportions in which they would be prepared to contribute to the expense.

I wish to insist emphatically on the importance of the work which would devolve on such a Commission. We cannot conceal from the world the wealth accumulated in the Colonial capitals, all of which lie on the seaboard. The inhabitants possess all the spirit and resources necessary to repel an attack, but these places are at present defenceless. Floating and stationary defences cannot be designed, a Naval Reserve or Militia cannot be organised, without naval and military advice. The Colonies having no body of officers to assist them in such a task, it is for the mother-country to take the initiative in the discharge of the urgent Imperial duty of preparing a scheme for the mutual self-defence of all the dependencies of the Empire.

I am not competent to enter into the details of such a scheme as the Royal Commission which I recommend would be enabled to prepare. A degree of local and professional knowledge, to which I make no pretensions, and which, indeed, cannot be combined in any individual, would be required in the preparation of a satisfactory plan. As an example of what might be done, I will, however, venture to refer to some notes on the formation of a Naval Reserve in Canada, which I made after visiting the ports in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1872.

The mother-country could readily furnish a staff of officers and instructors for the purpose of training the Colonial Naval Reserves. The number of officers required must depend on the strength of the force which it is deemed expedient to raise. In whatever numbers they may be wanted, they can be supplied from the ranks of those who have retired from the active list, or who are for the time being on half-pay. The presence of a body of naval officers

in our Colonies will form a valuable link with the United Kingdom.

They will carry with them the spirit of discipline and devotion to their country, which they have acquired from service in the Navy, and they will help to keep alive its illustrious traditions in those young communities, in which it is so important to create a high tone of morality and conduct. The example of her great men is the most valuable inheritance of a nation, and in the career of many of our sea officers the highest moral excellence has been combined with dauntless bravery and skilful seamanship.

Readers of naval story will be familiar with the fine passages in which Southey concludes his biography of Lord Nelson. He tells us how, on the sunny morning of October 21, 1805, as the British fleet was bearing down on the formidable array of ships under Villeneuve, Nelson withdrew to his cabin, and, looking for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory, piously discharged his devotional duties. You know with what calm courage shortly afterwards he entered into battle, and with what conduct and valour our officers and men followed their illustrious chief to victory. The battle of Trafalgar, the most signal success that ever was achieved upon the seas, was dearly bought by the death of Nelson; and yet, as his biographer most truly says: "He cannot be said to have fallen prematurely whose work was done nor ought he to be lamented, who died so full of honours, and at the height of human fame. The most triumphant death is that of the martyr; the most awful, that of the martyred patriot; the most splendid, that of the hero in the hour of victory; and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for Nelson's translation, he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this moment inspiring thousands of the youth of England—a name which is our pride, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength."

That the Navy of our own time contains many brave men, prepared to serve their Queen and country in the spirit which animated Lord Nelson, we cannot doubt. You remember how the gallant Burgoyne refused to enter the boat in which the sole survivors of the crew of the *Captain* were saved. Humanity to the savage and fortitude in death were conspicuously illustrated in the closing hours of Captain Goodenough. But the occasions which brought out the high qualities of Lord Nelson are happily rare. The annals of a nation must be long in order to furnish many examples

equally illustrious. Our share in the honour which belongs to the descendants of such men is a privilege of high value; and it will surely be one of the strongest inducements to the formation of a Colonial Naval Reserve that a link will thus be created with a Navy possessing the splendid traditions which belong to the British service.

It is believed that in the Canadian Dominion there are not less than 87,000 seafaring men. In 1872, about 1,000 decked vessels and 17,000 open boats, manned by 42,000 men, were employed in the fisheries alone. The lately-published tables give the most recent information as to their actual condition.

STATISTICS OF THE FISHERIES OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA IN THE YEAR 1875.

	Vessels employed.	Men.	Boats employed.	Men.
Ontario	11	46	828	2,322
Quebec	134	550	4,625	9,090
New Brunswick	235	1,475	3,661	6,369
Nova Scotia	615	5,813	8,619	17,906
	995	7,884	17,733	35,687

Total number of men, 43,571.

The value of the produce of the fisheries of the Dominion is given as follows:—

Ontario	£ 94,415
Quebec	332,137
New Brunswick	505,761
Nova Scotia	1,161,220
Prince Edward's Island	62,276
Newfoundland	1,925,035

The statistics of the fisheries as to boats and men employed are not given for Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland. The relative value, however, of the produce justifies the assumption that the number cannot fall short of those previously quoted for Nova Scotia and Ontario. It is stated in the Annual Report of Governor Hill for 1872 that about 10,000 men were engaged in the seal fishery of Newfoundland. We may therefore add to the numbers already given not less than 25,000 men employed in fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, which will bring up the number of hardy fishermen in our North American possessions to a total of not less than 68,000 men.

If we have lately done something to prove the resources of an Empire on which the sun never sets, by transporting a force of 7,000 natives of India to our island fortress in the Mediterranean, should we not achieve a far greater thing if a force of 70,000 seamen of our own race and language were enrolled as an Imperial Naval Reserve in our North American dependencies? To use a telling motto attached to a noble picture by one of the most gifted among modern English painters, "It might be done, and England ought to do it."

To return, however, to the details of organisation.

The rigorous climate of Canada and Newfoundland, throughout their long winter season, makes it impossible for fishermen to follow their regular vocation. The long interval of enforced idleness during winter would afford an admirable opportunity for regular attendance at drill, without interfering with other lucrative employment. A vigorous effort should be made to enrol these Colonial fishermen in the Naval Reserve of the British Empire. They are thoroughly inured to the hardships of the sea by the severe weather which frequently prevails on their native shore. No subjects of the British Crown are more loyal and devoted. There would be no difficulty in giving to the fishermen of Newfoundland and the maritime provinces of the Canadian Dominion an opportunity of embarking for their annual drill at a port easily accessible from their own homes. A vessel should be commissioned specially for the purpose of training seamen who have joined the Naval Reserve from Newfoundland from the ports in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and from Quebec, Montreal, and other places on the great river. The vessel should be of the corvette class, having a covered deck, in which the battery of guns would be placed. In such a vessel the drills might be carried on with regularity in the most severe weather. The drill-ship would be stationed, during midwinter, at St John's. The harbour is admirably sheltered, and a large population of fishermen is congregated in the town and its vicinity. During a portion of the winter the drill ship should be moved to other points on the coast where the fishermen are settled in large numbers. Thus the members of the Colonial Naval Reserve would have an opportunity of going through the annual course of drill, without being exposed to the hardships of a long sea voyage to St. John's in their small fishing-boats in mid-winter. Along the coasts of Newfoundland there are numerous admirably sheltered harbours, which are rarely frozen up. An anchorage might be selected for the training ship both in Placentia Bay and in Trinity Bay, perfectly secure,

and easily accessible to the large numbers of British seafaring men dispersed along those distant shores. As the spring approached, and the navigation was opened in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the ship could proceed from harbour to harbour along the southern shores of the Gulf. At Sydney, Charlottetown, and Gaspé, many seamen could be enrolled for the National Reserve. It should be arranged that the drill-ship should visit the harbours mentioned sufficiently early in the season to enable the seamen sailing from those ports to go through their annual drills before the navigation of the St. Lawrence was fully open. The reserve men might thus have the opportunity of attending on board the training ship, without suffering the serious inconvenience which would be felt if they were taken from their employment afloat in the season of open navigation. Another similar training-ship should be stationed at Halifax, which should visit the numerous harbours on the coast of Nova Scotia and in the Bay of Fundy, in the winter season, when multitudes of fishermen are compelled to remain on shore, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather.

We have not neglected to avail ourselves of the services of our Colonial population for the purpose of increasing our military resources. We have enrolled large bodies of men belonging to races distinct from our own. There can be no sufficient reason for neglecting to recruit for the Navy among the vast numbers of loyal Englishmen, whose splendid spirit of enterprise and adventure have carried them far away from their native shore to settle on the coasts of our Canadian Dominion.

In a lecture delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute, on February 4th, 1878, M. Bourriot, a member of the Canadian Senate, remarked that: "In the men that sail the fishing fleets of Canada we see the elements of a very powerful marine, which will be found invaluable in times of national danger. It may be estimated that the total strength which the fisheries employ throughout all British North America is composed of some 70,000 men." M. Bourriot was of opinion that there was no reason why training-ships, supported by the local governments, should not be started in the Colonies, if the system was found to work well in the United Kingdom.

The policy recommended seems to be in consonance with the views expressed by Lord Elgin, who, when Governor-General of Canada, argued with so much force on the advantages to England and her Colonies of an intimate union between them. "Is the Queen of England," he wrote, "to be the Sovereign of an Empire, growing, expanding, strengthening itself from age to age, striking

its roots into fresh earth, and drawing new supplies of vitality from virgin soils? Or is she to be, for all essential purposes of might and power, Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland merely?"

The organisation of a Naval Reserve in our North American Colonies is not only to be desired as a means of adding to our naval strength for Imperial purposes, but also for defending the Colonies themselves. All our Colonies, including India, should have a defensive force of their own. Organisation beforehand is essential to success in war. By the bestowal of infinite pains on her military organisation, Prussia, which seemed for ever fallen after the battle of Jena, turned the tide of fortune in 1815, and, after the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, has become the greatest power of Central Europe.

It is one of the great recommendations of the scheme which I have advocated on this occasion, that it need not involve the country in a lavish expenditure. It is well to prepare in advance plans of earthworks, to be thrown up when required, and to organise corps of naval volunteers. It does not follow that we should undertake the construction of the extravagant fortresses which surround our arsenals at home, or withdraw a single man from the well-rewarded labour market of the Colonies. To build fleets and forts, and to maintain armies in every dependency of the Crown, would be an exhausting and unnecessary effort. I approve the language held by Sir Robert Peel in 1850, when he said: "I believe that, in time of peace, we must by our retrenchment consent to incur some risk. I venture to say that if you choose to have all the garrisons of all your Colonial possessions in a complete state, and to have all your fortifications secure from attack, no amount of annual expenditure will be sufficient to accomplish your object."

Since the date of Sir Robert Peel's speech, that noble Volunteer movement, one of the most honourable features in the recent history of this country, has been originated. A quarter of a century ago, the voluntary submission to drill and discipline of large masses of men, in numbers far exceeding those enrolled in the regular army, was not anticipated by British statesmen. By the extension of the Volunteer movement, garrisons can be maintained in the largest fortresses and in the most distant outposts, without adding in any appreciable degree to the charges on the Imperial and Colonial revenues.

DISCUSSION.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG : I have listened with the deepest interest as well as the greatest pleasure to the able, eloquent, and exhaustive paper which we have just heard. I observe in the opening paragraphs Mr. Brassey takes what I conceive to be a most comprehensive and patriotic view of the question of the relations between the mother-country and the Colonies. It is very satisfactory indeed to hear a member of Parliament of the reputation of Mr. Brassey coming forward and avowing such sentiments as we have heard in his paper, and which I predict will have the greatest possible influence on the public mind, with regard to the class of questions which he has brought before us, throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. He commences by a rapid and graphic sketch of the growth of the Colonial Empire since the year 1845. I have been delighted to hear that he faces the question boldly of the importance of the Colonies being taught to recognise the principle that, in any questions of an Imperial character, they ought to take their part—to use his very fair and just expression—in due proportion with the mother-country. This is all the advocates for a united empire have ever claimed, viz. that in all Imperial expenditure, to which every part of the Empire is asked to contribute, it should be only in due and adequate proportion. Mr. Brassey has, I observe, quoted the remarks once made by two very eminent English statesmen—Mr. Bright and the late Earl Russell. The picture which the right hon. gentleman has drawn is no doubt a very striking one, of England being the mother of great nations ; but however picturesque and beautiful that idea may be, I am, I confess, one of those who agree rather with the late Earl Russell—that it is as the parent of a united Empire, and not as the mother of other nations, that England should feel herself proud. (Hear, hear.) I notice that Mr. Brassey urges very strongly that a Royal Commission should be appointed to take this question of a Colonial Native Volunteer Reserve Force, and the whole subject also of the defences of the Empire, into their consideration. It is a thing which I hope and trust before long the Government of this country will take up in an earnest and comprehensive spirit. It should not be a Commission to be composed of professional men and officers of high standing in this country alone, but a representative Commission in all possible respects ; and for this obvious reason, that it is essential that the Colonies themselves should be thoroughly represented on it, and thoroughly consulted upon it. (Hear, hear.)

They must know everything about it, and have the opportunity of seeing all the evidence that can be taken on such an important Imperial question, in order that it may have the measure of success which I predict such a commission so appointed, if undertaken at all, is sure to have by the time it finishes its labours. (Cheers.) The whole question is one involving such a vast amount of consideration that it is impossible in the small time allowed to each speaker to attempt to do more than glance at one or two of the striking points that appear in the paper brought before us to-night. Mr. Brassey has given us the most elaborate, and at the same time convincing statistics to show how easily a Naval Volunteer Force could without much expense be raised in all and each of the Colonies. If we take Australia and New Zealand on one side, and Canada on the other, it is quite clear we have an enormous amount of raw material ready for this purpose, and it only wants a little proper organisation and arrangement to establish a Naval Volunteer Force of a most gigantic and powerful character. I cannot help thinking that if this or anything like it is adopted, it will be one of the first steps towards that which I have myself long wished most earnestly to see, viz. an Imperial Navy for the whole Empire. (Hear, hear.) When we notice the stupendous growth of our Colonial empire within the last thirty years, I do not see why every part of it should not be recognised as an integral extension of Great Britain herself; and if she wants so many more ships to defend the coasts of this largely-extended Empire "beyond the seas," it is only necessary to build as many more of them, and to ask the colonists in the proper way to contribute their proportion of the increased expense, which is to be for their own benefit and protection quite as much as that of the mother-country; and I feel satisfied that they will come forward and meet that expense in a fair, just, and liberal manner. (Hear, hear.) It is said that as the duck takes to water so the Englishman takes to the sea, and it is perfectly clear that as these large Colonies increase there will be always a certain number of boys who wish to go to sea, and who would like to enter the Royal Navy, whether they be Australian, or New Zealand, or Canadian born, and I should like to give them all the inducement which they would have, and the pride which they would feel, whenever they saw a British ship of war, with the Union Jack flying, in their ports, to say it is one of our Navy, for we all pay for it, and it belongs to us as much as to the people of England. (Cheers.) That is the sort of sentiment that ought to be spread throughout the length and breadth of the whole Empire. (Hear, hear.) I

must congratulate Mr. Brassey on the admirable way in which he has brought the subject before the British public in his valuable and exhaustive paper. (Cheers.) Before sitting down I wish to say that I have received a note from Sir William Jervois expressing his great regret that he was unable to be present, and I am sure our own regret is not less so, for we should all have been glad to have had the benefit of hearing his views on this most interesting and important question. (Applause.)

MR. HYDE CLARKE: If we had any complaint to make of Mr. Brassey, it would be that he had used the term "Colonial Empire" where he has given the most convincing reasons why we should have no Colonial Empire, but why we should have one Federation. (Hear, hear.) The principle of Federation has been so old in the policy of this country that it dates from the time of the statesmen of the Commonwealth, who had provided for a federation not only with Scotland and Ireland, with New England and Virginia, but likewise with that population so nearly allied to us in Holland. Of late times we have seen a federation made of the German people, we have seen a federation made of the Italian people, and yet it seems as if we ourselves are unable to federate and cement a greater race—that speaking the English language. Then, again, with regard to what Mr. Brassey has so practically said as to the carrying out of a system of Naval Volunteers, he has been modest in his treatment of the subject, for he might have gone very much farther than he did. In those references which he has made to the history of the country, if he had gone back to the times of Raleigh, of Drake, and of Essex, in every ship that sailed under those commanders there was always a body of gentlemen as volunteers taking a part in all the work and sharing in all the dangers. That is a portion which has been rather neglected of late years; but if a provision were made of what perhaps, without using too technical an expression, might still be named the Naval Volunteers and Naval Cadets, we could enrol in the Colonies and the mother-country a great number of young men of all ranks of society according to their means, increasing the forces and diminishing the financial burdens of what I trust in the end will be the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) If we just consider the spirit that there is in our population—not only heard of in the gentlemen and working men of England, but I may say in the ladies—I may refer to such an example as has now become popular, that of Mrs. Brassey herself—(cheers)—that the women of England will take part in the most distant expeditions; it is then desirable that a higher and fuller scope should be given for those who are willing to share in it. In old times, as I

have just said, there never was a fleet went out without a real body of volunteers, which may assimilate in spirit to that great Volunteer movement on land which we have in our own days. (Hear, hear.) How valuable, too, it would be to many a young man if he had the opportunity for a couple of years of going on board a man-of-war, and, according to the circumstances of himself or his parents in life, contributing in the whole or in part to his maintenance while on board. I mention these few points, because they go rather in confirmation of the extension of the subject, which is not only important, but which is very wide. In the statistics which Mr. Brassey has given us of the Colonial tonnage, I think he might have justly amplified them by making some allowance for that portion of what is called "home tonnage" which is really employed in the service of the Colonies. Technically, we cannot call the tonnage of New Zealand, of South Africa, or of any other place, simply a "local tonnage," because under some circumstances the steam service, which is the most important, and the mail service, are carried on sometimes by a conjoint subsidy. At all events, with relation to the defence of the Colonies, we must look to the proportion that would be borne by the "home tonnage" in reference to the Colonies, One very material part of the subject to which Mr. Brassey has referred is that of India; and it must not be left out of mind in any consideration of the whole subject—(hear, hear)—and I trust some of those interested in India will refer to it this evening. (Cheers.)

Sir BRYAN ROBINSON: In accordance with the invitation of the noble Chairman, I offer a practical suggestion upon the *modus operandi* by which the usefulness and success of the very valuable paper we have just heard read may be promoted. First I would venture to advise that all the Colonial Governments should be invited to co-operate in this great national undertaking, for the naval defence of the Queen's dominions is national, seeing that it partakes quite as much of an Imperial as of a Colonial character; secondly, the best mode of obtaining from the Colonies a well-considered and sustained support will be by enlisting the sympathies and influence of the Secretary of State, whose recommendation always has just weight with local governments; and thirdly, I should advise, as most desirable, that the Colonial Minister's hands should be strengthened by a resolution of the House of Commons affirming the necessity for the adoption throughout the Queen's dominions of some general plan of naval defence.

Mr. A. B. ABRAHAM: I think as a body of colonists amongst whom many have been accustomed to make the circuit of the

globe, that we should do well to congratulate Mr. Brassey upon his safe return from his voyage round the world. (Hear, hear.) People cannot do two things at once ; still there is to us, perhaps, only one matter of regret that Mr. Brassey did not find it convenient in his arrangements, following the example of Captain Cook, to drop down from the South Sea Islands to New Zealand, and thence on to Australia. However, I do not think that the omission will abate in any degree from the interest we must all take in the views of Mr. Brassey on the subject of his present paper ; and I think I may assure him, as a New Zealand colonist—and I am sure I may say so on behalf of the Australian Colonies—that nowhere in the world will the energy and pluck and the high spirit which impelled him on the voyage from which he has lately returned be so much appreciated as in the Australian Colonies ; and that nowhere certainly would he receive greater welcome, if he should again be led to take another trip, than out in that part of the world. (Hear, hear.) My object in rising to-night was to express my surprise that gentlemen should write and speak upon this subject of the defence of the Colonies, and the defence of the Empire, without noticing what the British authorities have already done in the matter. We had two evenings' discussion upon the paper of Captain Colomb, referred to by Mr. Brassey. Upon that occasion I thought it extraordinary, and I have thought it remarkable to-night, that no allusion has been made to the way in which this subject was ventilated in the year 1860-61 ; and, further, that no allusion should have been made to the machinery which the Legislature of this country has in point of fact provided for the naval defence of the Colonies, and for the purpose of creating a Colonial Naval Reserve. Having had to take an interest in matters connected with the withdrawal of the troops from New Zealand, my attention was then turned to this subject, and I have with me some old notes with dates and particulars which I made at the time, and perhaps, if Mr. Brassey has not already had his attention called to the reports, it may be useful to give him the references to them. In 1859 there was a committee appointed, at the instigation of General Peel, to examine into the whole subject of the defence of the Colonies. The gentlemen to whom that was referred were Mr. Hamilton, of the Treasury ; Mr. Godley, who had been connected with New Zealand ; and Mr. Elliot, of the Colonial Office. They reported in substance as follows : " 1. That the military expenditure for purposes of *internal* police of Colonies having responsible government should be defrayed wholly from local funds. 2. That England should assist in their defence

against foreign aggressors, and (in a less proportion) against formidable native tribes, but in no case to assume the whole of such defence, which was to be founded on Colonial management and joint contribution at a uniform rate. 8. That the principal defence of such Colonies, so far as it depended upon the mother-country, must be the British Navy; "it being urged that the old system of defence prevented the development of a proper system of self-reliance amongst colonists, and enfeebled their national character, Imperial garrisons being inefficient and burdensome, and that the right system ought to be based on local efforts and local resources, combined with the naval superiority of the mother-country. Well, in consequence apparently of that report, which is dated January 24, 1860, and which is exceedingly full, there was a Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1861, and the members of that Committee—I rather think I have got their names: The present Marquis of Salisbury, the present Earl of Derby, Lord Carlingford, Gen. Peel, Sir James Fergusson, Sir George Grey, Sir C. B. Adderley, Mr. Ellice, Mr. Childers, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. T. G. Baring, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Roebuck—and they certainly represented every shade of opinion. The report of that Committee confirmed the report of the members of the first Committee, and recommended that the Colonies should rely principally upon their own efforts for the purpose of their self-defence, but that they should depend entirely upon the mother-country for the maintenance of lines of communication and also for naval defence; the conclusion of their report being, "That as the tendency of modern warfare was to strike blows at the heart of a hostile power, it was desirable to concentrate the troops required for the defence of the United Kingdom as much as possible, and to trust mainly to naval supremacy for securing against foreign aggression the distant dependencies of the Empire." It was under the recommendations of those Commissions that the principle of self-reliance was established in the Colonies, which led to the Colonies undertaking, as in New Zealand, to carry on their own war with the native tribes, and the British troops being all withdrawn. The Australian Colonies, whilst willing that the troops should be withdrawn, offered to pay for them if they remained; but a uniform rule was adopted, Great Britain undertaking to defend them as far as the sea was concerned. Since that time matters have changed somewhat, but so early as 1865 there was an Act of Parliament passed—the 28th and 29th Vict. c. 14—for the very purpose of making better provision for the naval defence of the Colonies. The effect of that Act is this: it authorises the Colonial Legislature, at their own cost, to

provide vessels of war for such purposes as Her Majesty in Council should approve. It authorises the same Colonial Legislature to raise a body of seamen, and to embody volunteers to form part of the Naval Reserve. It authorises the appointment of commissioned and warrant officers to the vessels which may be so built ; also to obtain warrant officers and commissioned officers from the Royal Navy ; the Legislature to enforce order—to make the men subject to the same regulations as the Royal Navy. And then it goes on to enact that Her Majesty in Council may authorise the Admiralty to issue a special commission to any officer of the Royal Navy volunteering for service under the Act, and that the Admiralty may accept the offer of any vessel, officers, and men that may be so established out in the Colonies, which are then to be regarded as belonging to the Royal Navy, and to accept the offer of the Colonial Government of volunteers and of officers for service in the Royal Navy, it being expressly provided that nothing done under the Act should impose any charge upon the Imperial revenues. Now you have under that Act all the machinery, in point of fact, for carrying out what Mr. Brassey and others have suggested ; and the question is, Why has this Act not been acted upon ? The simple answer is, I take it, because no sufficient emergency has arisen necessitating such an expensive proceeding, although, however, I should qualify this by stating that the good people of Victoria, who have more money than they know what to do with, have two large vessels, one an ironclad, the *Cerberus*, and the other the *Nelson* ; also a sloop called the *Victoria*. I don't think that Sydney has done anything under that Act ; and as far as regards New Zealand, she has not been in a position to do anything. But the real truth of the matter is, that except as regards Victoria, where they appear to have plenty of money to spend in that way, the Colonies have quite sufficient modes of disposing of the little surplus money they have in the work of colonisation, without wasting either their money or their labour in sending men afloat for this purpose. As far as volunteering goes, we have had plenty of that in New Zealand ; and we have had the expenses of a war, amounting to four millions, in which the colonists themselves, after the troops were withdrawn, put an end entirely to the New Zealand Maori wars. (Hear, hear.) The New Zealand settlers have performed their part of the arrangement, and is it too much for them to trust to the naval supremacy of Great Britain to maintain the highways of the sea ?

MR. LABILLIÈRE : I think, my lord, that the Fellows of this Institute will be interested to hear the ideas bearing upon this subject of one of our departed members, whose loss we very much deplore.

I speak of Mr. Edward Wilson. (Hear, hear.) In conversing with him some three or four years ago, he told me that one of the earliest impressions made upon his mind on going out to Australia, was the extraordinary maritime future which appeared to him to be in reserve for those Australian Colonies. And the ideas which he then formed upon the subject were formed a long time before the great development of those Colonies by the gold discovery; and I think we have only to look at any map to observe that the future of Australia must be a maritime future as far as her relations with the rest of the world are concerned. Mr. Brassey has reminded us that already we have a very large naval element in the population of Canada, which might be utilised for purposes of Imperial defence. We have got an amount of raw material in the Empire at present to draw upon for our maritime defences, and also for our military defences, which I believe any of the Powers in Europe may well envy us. And those recruiting fields for our Imperial navy and our Imperial army are yearly increasing as the populations of those territories increase. It may be said that the colonists are so much engaged developing the resources of their new lands, that they do not care much for military or naval occupations, but in every community we know that there is a very large proportion of young men for whom the life of a sailor or a soldier has the greatest attractions. I do not suppose there is a man in this room who at one time or other in his life has not declared that he would be either a soldier or a sailor. At this very moment I have in my pocket a letter I received only by the last mail from Australia, from a very old friend of mine, about a son of his, who from his earliest days has had a great desire for the sea, and never would turn to anything else. (Hear, hear.) Well, in fact, if the Imperial Government does not supply for the colonists facilities for entering the navy or the army, a great want will be ultimately felt by the inhabitants of those countries; and instead of allowing them to think of setting up on their own account and forming armies and navies for themselves, we ought to utilise these vast resources of men, which are daily increasing, for the defence of our great and common Empire. (Hear, hear.) And I cannot resume my seat without calling attention to the extremely practical turn which this question of Imperial unity has taken. When I last had the honour of speaking in this room, in the discussion of my paper on the Permanent Unity of the Empire—when I advocated the ultimate establishment of an Imperial Confederation—I was told, “You are theorising, you are only talking about a policy which may be very well fifty or a hundred years hence;” but every year—and it

is only three or four years ago since this happened—circumstances have forced this question, and are at the present moment forcing it, upon the consideration of the whole Empire; and nothing has more tended to show the practical character of this question than the recent anxieties in which this country and the whole Empire have been placed with regard to the Eastern Question. The moment you have to consider questions of defence at all, you have to consider your whole Empire. You have to consider what points you have to defend; you have to consider the resources from which you can draw ample means of defending this Empire—and I believe they would be sufficient against the world in arms. These considerations at once bring you up to this great question of Imperial Federation. If you are to ask the Colonies to contribute to the maintenance of armies and navies, which are to be employed in carrying out any particular foreign policy, you must give them a voice in that policy. (Hear, hear.) And that means nothing more nor less than Imperial Federation. I am quite willing, in the face of all these circumstances, to be called a speculator and a theorist. But I and those who hold the policy of Imperial Federation are dealing with a practical question, which the circumstances, the exigencies, and the dangers of the moment more and more force upon us; and I mean to say that those people who would put this question aside for fifty years are most short-sighted and impracticable. (Applause.)

Mr. DONALD CURRIE, C.M.G. : In answer to the appeal from your lordship, I take the opportunity of bearing my testimony to the able manner in which the hon. member for Hastings has dealt with the subject of this paper. The question opened up is not one of a Colonial Volunteer Force only, it is much larger—(hear hear)—even if it does not include the idea and advantages of Federation. It is not merely how we are to secure Colonial defence, but how we are to obtain and utilise the assistance of Colonial power and influence in a war of Imperial necessity. A look at that map on your walls is sufficient to demonstrate this. I think the proposal to have a Royal Commission is an extremely good suggestion—(hear, hear)—and it should not be merely a Royal Commission to inquire into the value of a Naval Volunteer Force and how to employ it, but one instructed to solve the important question—What measures are best fitted to rally the whole force of the Colonial Empire with the Imperial power in defending our country, and, if necessary, in carrying on an aggressive war? (Hear, hear.) If you look at Australia at the present moment—that country is dependent upon one line of telegraph for intercourse with

this country ; but it will soon have two lines, through the liberality of the Colonial Governments. But at any moment our eastern communications may be cut ; and, if a war should happen, Australia, to a great extent, would be exposed to attack from an enemy's squadron. (Hear, hear.) The Cape Colony, which has no harbour defences, is the only Colony which has no ocean telegraph—no means of asking for help in an emergency, to repel an enemy off its coasts ; it has no telegraph line linking it to this country. The Cape Colony is doing all that could be expected in the present Kafir war, and I am glad to say that Her Majesty's Government to-day gave instructions that we should take out and deliver within the next three or four weeks a large number of heavy guns. If a European war were unfortunately now to take place, there are no means of communicating orders for the concentration in the South Atlantic of the Gold Coast Squadron, the West Indian, or the North American Squadron, or to prepare measures to catch a cruiser like the *Cimbria*, or any fitted-out mercantile ship employed under the flag of Russia. In fact, this Royal Commission ought to consider this : What steps ought we to take, what arrangements should we make to be prepared at the least possible cost and burden to the Colonies—for that is a more material question ; if we do not give them a voice in the matter we cannot expect them to bear a part of the expense—(hear, hear)—what steps are we to take to prepare for that emergency, which may arise, but which let us hope, may yet be averted through the good judgment of Her Majesty's Government ? There is no doubt whatever that, whether constitutionally right or not, a very marked effect has been produced both in England and amongst foreign powers by the sudden transfer to the Mediterranean waters of a large and effective force from our Eastern possessions. (Hear, hear.) Without offering any opinion upon the question of how far that policy should be carried out, there is no doubt whatever that the movement of the Indian troops is only an indication of the tremendous force, hitherto unseen and undeveloped, which England possesses. (Hear hear.) I may certainly say that there is no fear whatever that with proper preparations, and a well-settled scheme arranged after inquiry by a Royal Commission, this empire could provide an aggregate of energy and power which might defy any hostile combination. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BRANDFORD GRIFFITH : I am sure we have all listened with great pleasure and satisfaction to the valuable and suggestive paper read by Mr. Brassey this evening ; and I think that not only those within these walls, but a vast number outside, have cause for

thankfulness that the voyage of the *Sunbeam* was undertaken, for not only has it afforded us the interesting and pleasant account which Mrs. Brassey has given in her charming narrative of the trip—(hear, hear)—but it has an especial interest and value for colonists, inasmuch as it was made by an influential member of Parliament, who, going round the world, and visiting many of our principal Colonies, was enabled to see things for himself. (Hear, hear.) If it was possible for other members to pursue a similar course, it would enable them to bring to the discussion of Colonial questions in Parliament an amount of personal information which would result in benefit to the dependencies of the Empire. It is useless for the Colonies to expect, nor do I think that they would expect, that Great Britain should protect them by contributions from her army in time of war. The protection the Colonies must look for from the mother-country at such a time must depend upon her being mistress of the sea. It is clearly their interest to aid her in maintaining this position, and I feel sure, although I speak subject to correction from those who are present from the great Australian and New Zealand Colonies, that the Colonies generally would gladly contribute to any arrangement towards the support, or in aid of, the Imperial Navy; or would otherwise cordially co-operate with the mother-country in measures of mutual self-defence, for thereby they would be promoting their own interests. This is the time to take action upon the important suggestions of Mr. Brassey. We all hope that the Congress about to assemble will end in preventing a fearful war; but it is just in the circumstances that have existed now for some time that the necessity is recognised of making every effort for the protection especially of the remote Colonial portions of the Empire. If the question is allowed to rest after peace is declared, it may be lost sight of until some future trouble again brings the matter into prominence. The present, therefore, is the right time to press the question raised by Mr. Brassey upon public attention. (Hear, hear.) He has alluded to the feeling of colonists towards England. Their affection for the mother-country cannot be quite understood by Englishmen unless they are colonists themselves. (Hear.) The feeling which induces colonists to speak of England as “home,” tells of their deep love for and strong attachment to the “old country,” which to them possesses an attraction and value that you must be colonists to realise. (Hear, hear.) If sometimes we express ourselves with greater warmth upon questions of policy between the Empire and ourselves than you at home perhaps approve, it must be attributed to the circumstances of our position as colonists—

circumstances which have their drawbacks, but which tend to create self-reliance and independence of thought and expression—occasionally, perhaps, exhibiting an appearance of opposition to Imperial policy ; but under all this there exists a strong love and devotion to this country which it would be difficult to destroy. The affection of the colonists for England is as the love of children for their parents, and depend upon it that it is the interest of this country to reciprocate Colonial attachment by kind and considerate treatment. If this course is pursued it will bind the mother-country and the Colonies together beyond the power of separation ; but if the Colonies are neglected, or treated with a chilly indifference to their concerns, a time may come to some of them when they may think that it is no longer for their interests to be connected with this country. (Hear, hear.) I hope Mr. Brassey's valuable suggestions will be acted upon, and, as he is a member of Parliament, his position will enable him to promote the views he has advocated in his able paper this evening. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Alfred Churchill) : I move now that the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Brassey for his most interesting and instructive paper. It is really an Imperial question, and not merely a Colonial one, that we have been discussing, and we are deeply indebted to him for the information he has given us. It is too late now to follow him in details, but many points he urged at the commencement, such as the appointment of a Royal Commission of a representative character which should take up the whole question from an Imperial and Colonial point of view simultaneously, are very desirable. (Hear, hear.) The Government, as you know, have got their hands full, and are loth to take up anything fresh or new until a little pressure is brought to bear upon them for the purpose. Therefore a meeting such as we have to-night is one of the methods by which we can bring to bear upon the Government a certain amount of pressure from force of public opinion which I believe in the end will carry the point. (Hear, hear.) A suggestion has been put into my hand which I think is a good one, viz. that a deputation from this Institute to the Colonial Office be appointed. I would ask Mr. Young to bring that question before the Council of his Society, with the view of putting it into some practical shape and form ; and with these observations I beg to move that the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Brassey for his able paper. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. BRASSEY : My lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—I thank you very much for your kind acknowledgment of the poor services I have rendered in reading the paper you have heard to-night. As your

lordship has said, the practical point is to obtain the appointment of a representative commission. I feel sure that an expression of approval from the Institute under whose auspices we are assembled will greatly assist in bringing the Government to entertain the proposal in a practical sense. And I also venture to hope that, when the reports of our proceedings which the reporters may have been engaged in recording, and doing what is a great service to us—when, I say, these reports reach the Colonies—I venture to hope that we may look for some assistance in the work we are anxious to promote both from Colonial newspapers and possibly from public meetings. (Hear, hear.) If we can go to Parliament and to the Government fortified by the assurance that what we ask the Government to do is desired by the Colonies themselves, our hands will be most materially strengthened. (Hear, hear.) And it is as a medium for organising action—mutual and concerted action—between the mother-country and the Colonies, and for the purpose of stirring up public opinion upon Colonial questions, that the Institute which has brought us together this evening is so exceedingly valuable. (Hear, hear.) Whether we should do more than merely attend the Government in deputation just now would be a matter for your consideration. It is quite clear that the Government must just at this moment be absorbed in the conduct of negotiations at Berlin. These are times appropriate for bringing a subject like this forward. (Hear, hear.) But whether a motion in the House of Commons should take place at the close of the present Session or at the beginning of the next Session will be matter for consideration. (Hear, hear.) If a motion in the House is postponed till the commencement of next Session we shall have had, I hope, in the interval, the immense advantage of having elicited from the Colonies an expression of opinion which would go far to convince the House of Commons and the Legislature that the proposal we make is one which deserves their approval. I thank you very much for your expression of satisfaction with my paper; and I beg to state to those who have addressed the meeting that I have heard what they have said with very great attention and advantage. I go away very much instructed by what they have told me. (Applause.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: It will be my duty as Honorary Secretary to take the earliest opportunity of bringing the suggestion made this evening before the Council—(hear, hear)—of course without pledging myself as to the exact course which the Council will think it their duty to take at this moment. (Hear, hear.) It will become no doubt a question of importance to consider that particular period

at which they should organise such a deputation as suggested to wait on the Government. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it would be unwise of me at this moment to say what action the Council will take with regard to it. All I can pledge myself to is, that, as its importance demands, the subject shall be taken into the earliest consideration of the Council. In bidding you farewell, I wish also to say that this is the last meeting of our present most successful session, and a very important and valuable meeting it is. (Hear, hear.) I am sure we are extremely indebted to Mr. Brassey for his assistance in contributing to our session terminating so successfully. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD, in proposing a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, said: There is only one circumstance I regret, that is, that the audience has not been so large as the importance of the subject and the merits of the paper read deserved; but I think the scantiness of the audience may be readily accounted for, for although "hearts of oak" have been superseded by ironclads, yet the English mind—on this day—has still an attachment to "the Oaks." Colonists in general, and Australians in particular, are lovers of racing. I am quite sure that if we were unfortunately at war with Russia, and a Russian man-of-war were to select as the day for an attack the day on which the Melbourne Cup is run for, it would find no one at the sea-side to resist it. On any other day than a race-day colonists would be eager to defend themselves, and to hear about the best way of defending themselves.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE seconded the resolution, and it was carried with acclamation.

CONVERSAZIONE.

THE Fifth Annual Conversazione was held at the South Kensington Museum on Thursday, the 27th June.

It was most thoroughly successful, and was fully represented by every Colony of the Empire.

The band of the Grenadier Guards, under the direction of Mr. D. Godfrey, played a well-selected programme of music during the evening.

Tea, coffee, strawberries, ices, and other light refreshments were served in the usual department.

Several gentlemen connected with India and many distinguished foreigners were also present, including His Excellency Li Ta Jin, Chief of the Chinese Educational Mission; Lo Fong Loh, Secretary to the Educational Mission; and members of the suite of His Highness the Maharajah of Jahore.

The following gentlemen kindly lent valuable objects of interest for exhibition during the evening: Thurlow Dowling, Esq., the sword worn by General Wolfe at the siege of Quebec; Rev. W. B. Lawes, of New Guinea, curious ornaments of native manufacture, such as armlets, chiefs' head-dresses, necklaces, women's and girls' ball dresses, &c.; Dr. Bennett, of Sydney, a specimen of the hair of the Angora Goat, from New South Wales; Jacob L. Montefiore, Esq., photographs of the scenery of the Australian colonies; Frederick Young, Esq., specimen of wood carved by Miss Norton; and A. B. Buchanan, Esq., photographs and views of Brisbane. The telephone and microphone were exhibited by the Indiarubber Company of Silvertown, and the Berthon Boat Company showed a model of one of their new collapsible boats; and Mr. E. Thompson, several models of boats for saving life at sea applicable to Colonial service. Photographs and paintings were also lent by the Agents-General for Queensland, South Australia, and Victoria.

The company were received by His Grace the Duke of Manchester, President, and the following Vice-Presidents and Members of the Council: The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.; Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.; Henry Blaine, Esq.; Sir Charles Clifford; Major-Gen. Sir H. C. B.

Daubeney, K.C.B.; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.; H. J. Jourdain, Esq.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; Alexander Rivington, Esq.; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.; James A. Yowl, Esq., C.M.G.; Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.; and Frederick Young, Esq.

The following is a list of those present:—

Major-General Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., K.C.B.	Mr. W. Moore Bell and lady
Lady and Miss Alison	Mr. J. Barrett and lady
Sir George A. Arney and lady	Mr. H. A. Bowler and lady
Major-General Addison	Mr. F. C. Brewer and lady
Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., and lady	Mr. C. E. Booth and lady
Mr. A. J. Adderley and lady	Mr. Wm. Beard and lady
Miss Adderley	Mr. Henry Beit and lady
Mr. F. F. Armytage and lady	Mr. John Balfour and lady
Mr. George Armytage and lady	Mr. Josias Booker and lady
Mr. A. B. and Miss Abraham	Mr. J. Bruce and lady
Mr. W. J. Anderson and lady	Mr. Samuel Browning and lady
Mr. J. C. Alexander and lady	Mr. Charles Bischoff and lady
Mr. Charles E. Atkinson and lady	Mr. E. J. Burgess and lady
M. J. W. Appell and lady	Mr. H. C. Burton and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Alford	Mr. James Brogden and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Aitken	Mr. Thomas Baynes and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Atthill	Mr. James Backwood and lady
Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Andrews	Mr. Thomas Briggs and lady
Mr. and Mrs. P. E. Amray	Mr. E. G. Barr and lady
Mr. Abul Fazel Abdur-Rahman	Miss Barr
Hon. J. B. Ackland	Mr. Frederick A. Ball and lady
Mr. Synd Waris Ali	Mr. W. H. Burton and lady
Mr. Synd Vazim Ali	The Lady Charlotte Bacon
Mr. Seth Aratoon Apcar	Mr. and Mrs. Harley Bacon
Mr. H. L. Ayers	Mr. E. Barry, R.A., and Mrs. Barry
Mr. Patrick Auld	Mr. M. P. Bucksh and Mrs. Bucksh
Mr. J. M. Allbrook	Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Benthley
Mr. and Mrs. Andrews	Mr. and Mrs. Bannatyne
Miss Abbott	Mr. Bok
Miss Charlotte Allen	Mr. Charles J. Becker
Miss Alleyne	Mr. James Bonwick
	Mr. Edward Bell
	Mr. Malcolm Bell
	Mr. Berthon
Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.	Mr. A. M. Blair
Lady and Miss Barkly	Mr. Robert Bateson
Sir David W. Barclay, Bart.	Mr. T. G. Bartlett
Lady Barclay	Mr. Edric Bayley
Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G.	Mr. H. S. Bascom, jun.
Lady Blyth	Mr. Bertin
Col. Sir T. Gore Browne, K.C.M.G., C.B., and lady	Mr. Gustavus Bourgingnon
Captain Burgess and lady	Mrs. Bourgingnon
Rev. Brymer Belcher	Mr. Bower
Dr. and Miss Brace	Mrs. F. Bower and Misses Bower (2)
Dr. George Bennett and lady	Miss Biadee
Dr., Mrs., and Miss Bancroft	Miss Briggs
Mr. Henry Blaine and lady	Miss Berkeley
	Miss Buckland

General Sir Wm. Codrington, K.C.B.,
and Lady Codrington
Sir Charles and Lady Clifford
Colonel Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.
Mrs. and Miss Crossman
Colonel and Mrs. Cox
Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.,
and lady
The Rev. Dr. Currey, Master of the
Charter House, and Miss Currey
Dr. P. Chiappini, Mrs., and Miss
Chiappini
Dr. Hyde Clarke and lady
Mr. James McCosh Clark and lady
Mr. Cooper and lady
Mr. George S. Curling and lady
Mr. Donald Currie, C.M.G.
Mrs. and Misses Currie (2)
Mr. and Miss Campbell
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Cox
Mr. and Mrs. N. Chevalier
Mr. and Miss Cauldwell
Mr. and Miss Clarke
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Campbell-Johnston
Mr. and Mrs. Cole
Mr. and Miss Carfrae
Mr. and Miss Carlyon
Mr. and Mrs. Cox
Mr. J. Randall Carey
Mr. N. V. Corrie
Mr. Campbell-Johnston
Mr. Wm. Clifford
Mr. Christy
Mrs. Creighton
Miss Anna Rivett Carnac

General Sir C. Hastings Doyle,
K.G.M.G.
Lieut.-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,
K.C.B., and lady
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
Dunedin
Ina Lady Durrant
Mr. Thurlow Dowling and lady
Mr. G. F. Duncombe and lady
Mr. Samuel Deering and lady
Mr. F. A. Du Croz and lady
Mr. W. T. Deverell and lady
Mr. Stewart Douglas and lady
Mr., Mrs., and Miss Dalgety
Mr. and Mrs. Domett
Mr. and Mrs. Dumaresq
Mr. John W. Dagnall
Mr. J. J. Duncan
Miss Dunnett

Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I.
Major and Mrs. Elyard
Mr. J. D. G. Engleheart and lady
Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Ebdon
Master and Miss Ebdon
Mrs. and Miss Eddy

Mrs. and Miss English
Miss Edensor
Miss Evans

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.,
and Miss Arnold
Sir Sandford Freeling, K.C.M.G.
(Governor of the Gold Coast
Colony)
Lady Freeling
Mr. Wm. Forster
Mrs. and Miss Forster
Hon. Philip O. Fysh (late Premier of
Tasmania)
Mr. W. Mortimer M. Farmer and lady
Mr. B. A. Ferard and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Adolphus Focking
Mr. George Fairbairn and lady
Mr. J. and Miss Vesey Fitzgerald
Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Fife
Mr. and Mrs. James Farmer
Miss Farmer and Miss Julia Farmer
Mr. and Mrs. Flux
Mrs. and Miss L. Fairholme
Miss Farnham
Mr. Henry Figg
Mr. H. W. Freeland
Mr. C. Fraser

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
Guiana
Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Gzowski
Major and Mrs. F. N. George
The Rev. Canon Goodman
Mrs. Goodman
Rev. C. P. Greene
Mr. Charles Hutton Gregory, C.M.G.,
and lady
Mr. F. A. Gwyne and lady
Mr. J. H. Greathead and lady
Mr. Donald Gollan and lady
Mr. George R. Godson and lady
Mr. Robert Gillespie and lady
Mr. Charles Guthrie and lady
Mr. and Mrs. W. Brandforth Griffith
Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Grahame
Mr. W. S. Grahame, jun.
Miss Grahame
Miss Lizzie Grahame
Mr. E. Glanville
Mr. Gie
Mr. Alfred Greenwood
Mr. F. Knight Gregson
Mr. E. Godsall
Mr. Sydney L. Gilchrist
Miss Gordon
Miss Blanche Galletly
Miss Mary Goman

Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B.
Lady Hooker
General Hawley

The Venerable Archdeacon Hunter and lady
The Rev. A. Styleman Herring and lady
Rev. John G. H. Hill
Dr. J. Hiddingh and Mrs. Hiddingh
Mr. Hutchinson and lady
Mr. Wm. Henty and lady
Mr. Henry Hall and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Hyams
Mr. and Mrs. George Hague
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Hall
Mr. and Mrs. Houldsworth
Mr. Walter Houldsworth
Miss Houldsworth.
Miss Florence Houldsworth
Mr. and Miss Hanson
Mrs. Tilghman Huskisson
Mrs. Samuel Hopkins
Mrs. W. Carey Hobson
Miss Heslop
Miss A. Hamilton
Miss L. Hamilton
Mr. Philip Capel Hanbury
Miss Lilla Hamilton
Mr. R. Bendon Haldane
Mr. J. Lees Hall
Mr. J. Cashel Hoey
Mr. Hiddingh
Mr. Leonard Harper
Mr. Richard L. Head
Mr. Avory Holmes

Rev. William Impey
Mr. J. V. H. Irwin and Mrs. De Vernede
Mr. and Mrs. William Isaac
Miss Irvine

Sir Penrose G. Julyan, K.C.M.G., C.B., and lady
Mr. Hugh Jameison and lady
Mr. Alfred W. Johnson and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Jourdain

Sir Brook Kay, Bart.
Mr. A. C. King and lady
Mr. Henry Kimber and lady
Mr. and Miss Kingston
Mr. and Mrs. Edward Knox
Miss Knox, Miss F. Knox, and Miss K. Knox
Mrs. and Miss King
Mr. Kummerer
Mr. Ralph W. Keefer, of the Canadian Commission, Paris Exhibition
Mr. Keefer

Lieut.-General Sir Daniel Lysons, K.C.B., Quartermaster-General, and Lady Lysons

Lieut. - General Sir Henry Lefroy, K.C.M.G., and Lady Lefroy
Rev. W. B. Lawes, New Guinea
Rev. Dr. Leathes and Miss Leathe
Dr. and Mrs. P. Sinclair Laing
Mr. Conway W. Lovey and lady
Mr. Percy R. Langdale and lady
Mr. W. F. Lawrence and lady
Mr. John L. Langworthy and lady
Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Labilliere
Mr. Owen Lewis, M.P., and Mrs. Lewis
Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Le Cren
Mr. Anthony O'Grady Lefroy
Mrs. and Miss Lefroy
Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Larnach
Mr. Donald Larnach
Miss Lea
Miss Leman
Miss Lake

His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.

Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.
Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B., and lady
Sir Archibald Michie, K.C.M.G.
Lady and Miss Michie
Sir Clinton Murdock, K.C.M.G., and Lady Murdock

The Very Rev. Dean MacDonald
The Rev. H. B. Macartney
The Rev. F. J. C. Moran and Mrs. Moran

Deputy-Surgeon General W. A. Mackinnon, C.B.

Rev. Edw. Nelson
Dr. J. Milligan and Miss Bisdie
Dr. Mouat and lady
Mr. L. O. Mackinnon and lady
Mr. Ernest L. Meinertzhagen and lady
Mr. H. C. Macdonald and lady
Mr. G. P. Moodie and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Montefiore
Mr. R. M. McKerrell and lady
Mr. John Miller and lady
Mr. John Marshall and lady
Mr. H. Muir
Miss Muir and Miss Janet Muir
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Marriott
Mr. Joseph Montefiore
Mrs. and Miss Montefiore
Mr., Mrs. and Miss Merewether
Mr. and Miss Molineux
Mr. and Mrs. Mellwraith
Mr. Justin N. MacCarthy
Miss Charlotte MacCarthy
Mr and Mrs. H. Edmonstone Montgomerie
Miss Edmonstone Montgomerie
Miss Constance Edmonstone Montgomerie

Mr. and Mrs. W. Manley
 Mr. and Mrs. Maude
 Mr. and Mrs. S. McBean
 Mr. Oliver R. Mecklem
 Miss Mecklem and Miss A. Mecklem
 Mr. Horace Molineux
 Mrs. C. T. Matthews
 Miss Matheson
 Miss Murphy
 Miss Martin
 Miss Mackie
 Miss Maskelyno
 Miss McPhail
 Mr. MacDonnell
 Mr. Merza Meadin Khan
 Mr. Wm. McTavish
 Mr. Douglas McLean
 Mr. L. Millstead
 Mr. Arthur L. Muggeridge
 Mr. B. Mackie
 Mr. A. C. Mathew

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
 Hon. H. Nathan and lady
 Mr. Charles J. Nairn and lady
 Mr. George Albert Nicholson
 Mr. Henry Nicholls
 Mr. H. J. Newton
 Mr. K. N. Nictra
 Mr. and Mrs. Stafford Northcote

Mrs. Hamilton Osborne
 Mr. E. Ormiston and lady
 Mr. James L. Ohlson and lady

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
 Pretoria and lady
 Captain Petrie and lady
 Captain Edward Palliser
 Captain W. Palliser
 Professor Bonomy Price
 Mrs. Price
 Mr. William Purdy and lady
 Mr. J. Baden Powell and lady
 Mr. J. Paterson and lady
 Miss Paterson
 Mr. Thomas Plewman and lady
 Miss Plewman
 Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pattersen
 Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Phelps
 Mr. and Mrs. King Peirce
 Mr. R. T. Palmer and Miss Palmer
 Miss Helen Pope
 Miss Power
 Dr. W. R. Pugh and lady

Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.
 Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G.,
 and lady
 Sir Bryan Robinson and lady
 Colonel, Mrs., and Miss Robinson
 Captain Ray, R.N.

Miss Ray and Miss M. Ray
 Captain Ross
 Dr. and Mrs. Rae
 Dr. Ross
 Mr. G. G. Russell and lady
 Mr. Purvis Russell and lady
 Miss Russell
 Mr. Alexander Rogers and lady
 Mr. Hamilton Ross and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Rivington
 Mr. John Robb
 Miss Robb and Miss Bessie Robb
 Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Ransford
 Mr. J. G. Ramsay
 Mr. Bruce Russell
 Mr. Arthur E. Russell
 Mr. Malcolm S. Riach
 Mr. F. H. Richardson
 Mr. Muhammad Lubfor Rahman
 Mr. A. Remono
 Mrs. Alfred R. Roche
 Mrs. Read
 Mrs. and Miss Robinson
 Mrs. and Miss Riach
 Miss Rutter
 Miss Redmond

The Bishop of St. Helena and lady
 Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart., and
 Lady Stirling
 Mr. Justice Wilberforce Stephen
 (Puisne Judge) and Mrs. Stephen
 The Misses Stephen
 Sir John and Lady Smale
 General Sir John St. George, K.C.B.,
 and Miss St. George
 Mr. Robert Stokes, M.L.C.
 Dr. Stokes
 Dr. Herbert Stone
 Major H. C. Sheddon and Mrs. Sheddon
 Captain Stopford
 The Master of Sinclair and the Hon.
 Mrs. St. Clair
 Mr. Philip T. Smith and lady
 Mr. L. C. Stevenson and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Stewart
 Mr. John Sanderson and lady
 Mr. and Mrs. Sutton
 Mr. and Mrs. Stuart
 Mr. J. B. Smith and Miss Smith
 Miss Smith
 Mr. and Mrs. Spiro
 Miss Spiro
 Captain Stewart
 Mrs. Shute and Miss Shute
 Miss Salmon
 Mr. George Sayer
 Mrs. Warrington Smyth
 Miss Schwenke
 Mr. D. Sutherland
 Mr. J. O. Simpson
 Mr. C. B. N. Snewin

Mrs. and Miss Snewin
Mr. Sauerbeck
Miss L. Slater
Miss Steveson
Miss Spread

Sir Robert Turing, Bart., Lady and
the Misses Turing (2)
Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Trollope
Mr. and Mrs. J. Duncan Thomson
Miss Elsie Thomson
Mr. A. Turnbull and Miss Turnbull
Mr. and Mrs. George Thorn
Mr. and Mrs. Fredk. Tooth
Mr. Andrew Todd
Misses Todd
Mr. Thomas Thompson
Mr. Walter Turnbull and lady
Miss Turnbull
Mr. Charles J. Taylor and lady
Mr. J. Henwood Thomas and lady
Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Thompson
Miss E. Skeffington Thompson
Miss Rose Trevor
Miss Tandy
Miss E. G. Tandy

Mr. Ferdinand Unna and lady

Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., Lady
Vogel, and Miss Vogel
Mr. M. Verkouteren
Mrs. E. Viner
Sir John and Lady de Villiers

Sir Stephen Walcott, K.C.M.G.
Lady Walcott
Sir E. Williams and Lady Williams
Admiral and Mrs. Wellealey
Miss Wellealey

Colonel Wavell
Rev. Dr. Wood and lady
Hon. John Brown Watt
Mr. H. Wellings and Miss Wellings
Mr. Reader G. Wood and lady
Mr. and Mrs. J. Dennistoun Wood
Mr. S. V. Morgan and lady
Mr. Arnold White and lady
Mr. W. S. Wetherell and lady
Mr. Herbert M. Whitehead and lady
Mr. Andrew M. Walls and lady
Mr. Robert White and lady
Mr. and Miss William Westgarth
Mr. Tryon Wing (95th Regt.)
Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Watson
Miss Watson
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Watson
Mr. H. Schütz Wilson
Miss Wilson
Mr. Charles Wheeler and lady
Mr. Edward West
Mrs. Wilkinson
Mr. James M. Walters
Mr. Wilkinson
Mrs. Montagu Wilkinson
Mr. Tucker Widgery
Mr. W. Walker

Lady Fox Young
Miss Fox Young
Miss S. E. Fox Young
Miss E. C. Fox Young
Mr. Frederick Young and Miss Young
Miss Young
Miss Ada Mary Young
Mr. Arthur Lyttelton Young
Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Young
Mr. J. A. Youl, C.M.G., and Miss
Youl
Mrs. Harry Youl
Mr. S. Yardly and lady

TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Institute took place at the Rooms, 15, Strand, on Friday, June 28th, 1878, at five o'clock.

J. A. YOUL, Esq., C.M.G., occupied the chair until the arrival of His Grace, the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, shortly after the hour of meeting. Among those present were the following :--

Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G. and C.B.; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; Colonel Alcock; Colonel C. S. Gzowski (Canada); Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; John Balfour, Esq.; Henry Blaine, Esq.; George Bennett, Esq., M.D. (Sydney); A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq.; James Farmer, Esq.; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; Rev. John G. H. Hill; Arthur Hall, Esq.; Philip Capel Hanbury, Esq.; Rev. A. Styleman Herring; Abraham Hyams, Esq.; J. V. H. Irwin, Esq.; H. J. Jourdain, Esq.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; Francis S. S. Merewether, Esq.; Frank E. Metcalfe, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; G. Molineux, Esq.; J. L. Ohlson, Esq.; Alexander Rogers, Esq.; H. B. T. Strangways, Esq.; J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.; Wm. Westgarth, Esq.; J. Dennistoun Wood, Esq.; James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.; Frederick Young, Esq., Hon. Sec.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY read the notice convening the meeting, which had been published in two of the daily Papers, and also the Minutes of the Ninth Annual General Meeting, which were confirmed.

MESSRS. J. DENNISTOUN WOOD and PHILIP CAPEL HANBURY were duly nominated Scrutineers of the ballot.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY read the

ANNUAL REPORT.

In presenting to the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute the Report for the present year, the Council cannot forbear calling attention to the interesting fact, that the Institute has now completed the tenth year of its existence. Founded in the year 1868 for the purpose of bringing together all persons connected with the Colonies and India, and of everyone taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs, it was the special object of its promoters to endeavour by its means to aid in the diffusion of information, and

in binding together more closely, and preserving more completely, the permanent unity of every part of the British Empire.

The Council look with satisfaction at the gratifying success which has, within the brief period they have been reviewing, thus far attended the zealous and energetic efforts which have been made for the attainment of an object at once so worthy, so noble, and so thoroughly patriotic.

This success is proved by the constantly increasing number of the Fellows who have joined the Institute, and by the interest which is shown in the increasingly large audiences to be found at their Ordinary General Meetings during each succeeding Session. The Council are thus induced to look forward to the future most hopefully, and to anticipate that when another decade in its history shall have elapsed, the Institute will be found to have attained such a hold on the public mind as will show the confidence felt in the thoroughly representative nature of its large-hearted policy—which forbids its assuming any “party” character whatever—and, consequently, of its widespread influence in promoting all the best interests of the whole Empire. The Institute has never been tempted to enter into the sphere of local politics, although many important questions of this character have from time to time excited a considerable amount of interest and attention, even beyond the limits of the particular Colonies in which they have taken place. The objects to which it has always been devoted have been essentially Imperial, and consequently affect, not one particular Colony or group of Colonies only, but the general interests of them all in the aggregate.

In the last Annual Report the Council referred to the various proposals and suggestions they had had under consideration for rendering the Institute more thoroughly efficient as well as attractive to its Fellows. They have still the same desire as ever to effect all these improvements in the establishment itself, especially with regard to a more appropriate building for the Institute; but they must again remind the Fellows that all such changes can only be effected at a largely increased cost, which, considering the state of the finances, they have not felt justified in taking the responsibility of incurring. They, therefore, earnestly appeal to every member of the general body of the Fellows to do all in his power to aid in bringing in as large an accession of new Fellows as possible, in order that the Council may with confidence enter on the consideration of those changes which they are anxious to bring about at the earliest practicable period.

On this occasion the Council have to make an announcement,

which they are sure will be received with the greatest pleasure, as well as with the deepest interest, by all the Fellows. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has graciously consented to accept the office of President of the Institute. The Council consider this step on the part of His Royal Highness as one of the highest importance, not alone as regards the future success of the Royal Colonial Institute, but also as being fraught with the most valuable results in demonstrating the warm sympathy which is felt towards the Colonies and India by His Royal Highness, in thus identifying himself with an Institution expressly founded for the purpose of showing such sympathy, and which is doing all in its power to bind together the whole British nation in the closest ties of friendship, brotherhood, and goodwill.

The Council have the satisfaction of feeling that the acceptance by His Royal Highness of the Office of President will not deprive the Institute of the benefit of the services and lively interest of the Duke of Manchester. As one of its Vice-Presidents and as Chairman of the Council, to which, with his Grace's sanction, it is proposed to elect him, it will still have in future, as hitherto, the advantage of his valuable co-operation and assistance.

The past Session has been quite as successful as any of its predecessors. The programme of Papers giving opportunities for the consideration and discussion of questions connected with every great division of the Colonies, as well as of India, has been fully carried out. The attendances at the Meetings themselves, and the spirit with which the discussions have been sustained by a variety of speakers of weight and wide experience, have given increased importance and usefulness to the deliberations of the Institute.

The Papers read during the Session have been as follows:—

1. Indian Famines, and How to Modify the Causes that Lead to Them. By Robert H. Elliot, Esq.
2. Queensland and Chinese Immigration. By Arthur Macalister, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General for Queensland.
3. A Sketch of New South Wales, from 1788 to 1876. By Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.
4. The Character of the Colonial and Indian Trade of England, Contrasted with her Foreign Trade. By J. Forbes Watson, Esq., M.A., M.D., LL.D.
5. New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, and their Relation to the Empire. By Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for New Zealand.
6. Canada, and its Vast Undeveloped Interior. By Sandford

Fleming, Esq., C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the Newfoundland, Inter-colonial, and Canadian Pacific Railways.

7. Glimpses of Natal. By John Robinson, Esq., M.L.C.

8. The Angora Goat, and its Naturalisation in British Colonies. By Gavin Gatheral, Esq., H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul, Angora.

9. The Proposed Ramiseram Ship Canal between India and Ceylon. By S. McBean, Esq., C.E.

10. A Colonial Naval Volunteer Force. By Thomas Brassey, Esq., M.P.

Since the last Annual Meeting 97 Fellows have been elected, of whom 49 are Resident, and 48 Non-Resident. Among the names of those whose loss by death the Council have had to deplore is that of Edward Wilson, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, who was always among their most warm and active supporters, and one of their most energetic and distinguished colleagues. His death is a real Colonial calamity.

Among the presentations to the Library which demand special attention are complete sets of Votes and Proceedings and Journals of the Legislative Council by the Government of New South Wales. The Council are extremely grateful for these valuable contributions, which, they trust, will be followed by similar ones from all the other Colonies which have not yet made them to the Institute, as it is the object of the Council to provide in a central position in London, a complete Library of reference on all Colonial subjects.

The Annual *Conversazione*, which is looked forward to as a most important Colonial representative *réunion*, and which is always most attractive, agreeable, and interesting, took place at the South Kensington Museum on Thursday, the 27th June, the day before the Annual Meeting.

Although during the last few months the attention and interest of the whole Empire have been absorbed by momentous questions, involving anxious considerations of Peace or War, the relations of the Colonies as integral parts of it have not been forgotten. On the contrary, they have been brought out into greater prominence. The readiness with which Canada has evinced her desire to contribute forces, if necessary, to fight for Great Britain, and the measures taken by the Australian Colonies to bear their part in any struggle that might unhappily arise, have refuted the unworthy insinuations that the Colonies would abandon the Mother-country if they found it likely that they might be involved in any war in which she was engaged. The magnificent Colonial contributions to the Indian Famine Fund have no less proved that they are prompted by nobler sentiments towards every part of her dominions of sympathy,

loyalty, and love. In fact, it is becoming more and more evident that if anything was wanting to demonstrate the strength of the ties which unite its people together as one Nation, it would be the chance of a foreign attack upon, or the existence of a widespread calamity in, any portion of the British Empire.

June, 1878.

FREDERICK YOUNG,

Hon. Sec.

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- | | |
|---|---|
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The Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.	Colonies and India.
" Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham.	Darling Downs Gazette.
" West India Committee.	Demerara Colonist.
" Department of State, Washington.	Demerara Royal Gazette.
The Governments of—	Demerara Times.
British Guiana.	Fiji Times.
Cape of Good Hope.	Financial Opinion.
Ceylon.	Fort Beaufort Advocate.
Dominion of Canada.	Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State.
Jamaica.	Grahamstown Eastern Star.
Natal.	Hobart Town Mercury.
New South Wales.	Jamaica Colonial Standard.
New Zealand.	Jamaica Gleaner.
Queensland.	Kapunda Herald.
South Australia.	Malta Times.
Tasmania.	Malta Public Opinion.
Victoria.	Manitoba Standard.
The Legislative Assembly of—	Mauritius Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette.
British Columbia.	Montreal Daily Witness.
Manitoba.	Nassau Times.
Ontario.	Natal Mercury.
Quebec.	Natal Witness.
The Education Department of the Province of Ontario.	Newfoundland North Star.
The Agent-Gen. for Canada.	Port Denison Times.
" " " New South Wales.	Port Elizabeth Observer.
" " " New Zealand.	St. George's Chronicle.
" " " Queensland.	Sydney Echo.
" " " South Australia.	Sydney Morning Herald.
" " " Victoria.	Sydney Town and Country Journal.
The Crown Agents for the Colonies.	Toronto Leader.
Also File of Papers from the Proprietors of the—	Toronto Mail.
Argus and Australasian.	Transvaal Argus.
Barbadoes Globe.	Timber Trades Journal.
Beaufort Courier.	Trinidad Chronicle.
British Columbia Weekly British Colonist.	Yass Courier.
	&c. &c. &c.

The PRESIDENT moved the adoption of the Annual Report. The motion was seconded by Sir CHARLES E. F. STIRLING, Bart.

Colonel ALCOCK said: Having heard this very important Report read over, it appears to me that our thanks are due and should be given to the President, the Vice-President, and Council of the Institute for the steady perseverance with which they have followed one main object with one persistent policy in view. During the last ten years they have shown the statesmanlike quality which rises above the minutiae of ordinary affairs, the routine of previous experience, and, I may say, of what was in some quarters, a prevailing tone of thought. They have seen the force, direction, and the intrinsic meaning of the great events by which they were surrounded of calculating the consequences likely to ensue, and of forecasting the result and the course which the people of this great Empire would be likely to accept, appreciate, and esteem. They

have persistently adhered to that course, and the success has been eminently obvious at this time, which concludes one period of the first decade. Although it could not be very well mentioned in the Report, yet I think it may come well from any persons who venture to speak upon it this afternoon. (Hear, hear.) We may justly conclude from it that the leading minds of those to whom I have already referred, with the valuable Papers read, must have influenced public opinion in the direction of an expedient and popular policy, one which will maintain the moral force, the mercantile interests, and the imperial power of our race.

The adoption of the Report was then put, and unanimously carried.

Mr. MOLINEUX, Acting Hon. Treasurer, having laid on the table accounts for the year, proceeded to say: My Lord Duke, and Gentlemen,—In the absence of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Sargeant, who was, as you are aware, sent last year by the Government on a special mission to the Transvaal and has only just returned, I have been acting as Hon. Treasurer, and it is my duty to read to the meeting the statement of accounts for the year. (*See pp. 410-411.*) In connection with that statement I beg to make one or two brief remarks, which it has been the custom of Mr. Sargeant to do, and I am glad to say I think they will be upon the whole of a satisfactory character. I find that the receipts for the current year just passed have amounted to £1,417 18s. 11d., being the largest annual receipt during the whole ten years of the existence of the Institute. The payments have been £1,382 15s. 2d., somewhat less than the preceding year, when the year terminated with a deficit. On this occasion, I am happy to say, there is a surplus, and the balance in hand is £501 16s. 6d. (Hear, hear.) The investments of the Institute stand at the same figure as they did last year, namely £1,200. With these few remarks, your Grace, which I think are the only ones that the figures seem to call for, I beg to submit them to the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I should like to supplement what Mr. Molineux has just told you in reference to these figures. I merely want to call the attention of the meeting to one or two points, which I should like to bring before them. I am the great spending organ of the Institute, and while I endeavour to keep within bounds I have occasionally exceeded what some of my friends perhaps might think was a prudent point; and last year when we met we found ourselves in the position of having spent more than our income. I remember on that occasion I warned the Institute that as we grew larger it was very possible we might find it

necessary to spend more in order to carry out the great imperial objects for which we are founded, but I would do my best to keep within bounds. I am glad to say now that another twelve months have gone over our heads, although we have not restricted ourselves in any necessary expenditure for carrying out the great objects we are united together to fulfil, on this occasion we have a surplus rather than otherwise. (Hear, hear). This is satisfactory. There was another point to which I called attention last year, viz., the large amount of uncollected subscriptions. I am sorry to say I cannot be more encouraging this year. I said last year that we had £571 owing to us of uncollected subscriptions, and I find that on the 11th of this month we had £577 9s. due, which ought to have been paid on the 1st January last. I make continual appeals to those who do not honour my first application; but, I say it with regret, there are a large number of our friends who do not pay up quite as rapidly as I should like to see them. If they would do so, of course our financial position would be better than it is, for our Hon. Treasurer has just told you, he gives you the account of our actual receipts and payments only. But we ought to have at least £500 more in our bankers' hands than we have at present, which is in the pockets of our members in different parts of the Empire. I mention this merely in the hope that our friends in arrear will do all they can to make amends. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREELAND: I am not going to trouble the meeting with a criticism upon the details of the financial statement, but there are one or two remarks which I should like to make on the present occasion before I refer to something which Mr. Young has just mentioned. I am very glad to find that the sum which we have received this year is the largest that has ever been received since the Institute has been in existence. I also gathered from Mr. Molineux's figures that there are four life compositions amounting to £80, and that the amount of invested property remains just as it was. I am anxious earnestly to direct the attention of Mr. Young to these facts, and to express to-day the hope that he will bring before the Council at an early date the expediency of, at all events, investing all life commutations. (Hear, hear.) I am always looking out to add to this little nest-egg of ours, for I hope that some day, when we come to consider the question of a museum, or of a larger place of meeting, this sum put by from year to year may give us substantial aid in carrying out an object which we all cordially support—that of affording more commodious and better accommodation for the Institute. (Hear, hear.) My friend looked

a little earnestly at me when speaking of this large amount of arrears. He knows that last year I undertook the somewhat delicate task of speaking to one or two gentlemen in arrear, and I am happy to say that the appeal was directly responded to. I may also state—I mention no names—that within the last day or two I have taken the liberty of repeating the experiment, and I hope I shall have a cheque, which I shall place in the Secretary's hands in a few days. (Hear, hear.) I merely mention this as a hint to members, who, if they would quietly and kindly speak to their friends, not in a dictatorial way, but somewhat after this fashion, "My dear fellow, have you not forgotten to pay your subscription?"—(laughter)—would, I think, soon help us to diminish the large arrear, which looks a little formidable. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel ALCOCK : I would suggest that you should put up a list of the names of those persons who have not paid, in order that their friends may see it, and remind them, for it is not always culpable neglect, but is merely their being absent; for, in order that their friends may remind them of it, it is necessary that they should know who are the defaulters.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : In answer to Colonel Alcock, I would remind him that the Institute is not quite the same as a club, for some members are residents, while some are non-resident. The most direct way is taken by applications sent to them by myself. Thus they are generally made aware, so far as the post can reach them, of being in arrear; and if they would kindly attend to my applications, that would be the most satisfactory way of meeting it.

Mr. FREELAND : It is an awkward thing to post-up such a list; but a list of the names of the defaulters can be seen by anyone who is willing to undertake the delicate task which I have referred to.

The DUKE OF MANCHESTER hereupon put it to the meeting that the Hon. Treasurer's Report be received, and it was passed unanimously. His Grace likewise announced that the following noblemen and gentlemen had been unanimously elected as the governing body of the Institute for the ensuing year :—

PRESIDENT.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.	His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.	The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.
His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T.	The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.
His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, G.C.S.I.	The Right Hon. the Earl of Granville, K.G.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dufferin,
K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven,
K.P.
The Right Hon. Viscount Monck,
G.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. Viscount Bury,
K.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. Viscount Cranbrook.

The Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.
The Right Hon. Sir Stafford H.
Northcote, Bart., C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P.
The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.
The Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers,
M.P.
Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell,
K.C.M.G., C.B.

COUNCILLORS.

Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
Henry Blaine, Esq.
Sir Charles Clifford.
Lieut.-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,
K.C.B.
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Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
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Alexander Rivington, Esq.
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Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G. Lord Kinnaird.
James Searight, Esq.

HON. TREASURER.

W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G.

HON. SECRETARY.

Frederick Young, Esq.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: In consequence of the important paragraph to which allusion was made in the Report that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has accepted the post of President of the Institute, it becomes necessary that we should have a slight alteration in Rule 89 with regard to the President of the Institute; and the Council have proposed, in accordance with the notice which I hold in my hand, and which has been up the usual time on the notice board for one month before this meeting, that in lieu of the present 89th Rule it shall stand as follows:—

“The President presides at all meetings of the Council and of the Fellows. The Council may elect a Chairman of the Council, who shall preside in the absence of the President. In the absence of the President, and of the Chairman of the Council, one of the Vice-Presidents, or one of the Members of the Council, shall supply the place of the President or Chairman of the Council; and to make any consequential alterations that may be necessary.”

Mr. LABILLIERE seconded the resolution, which the noble CHAIRMAN put to the meeting, and it was unanimously adopted.

Lieut.-Col. GZOWSKI: If I am in order, being a Canadian by adoption, I beg leave to express the very great gratification I feel—and I know I speak the sentiments of every Canadian from the Atlantic to the Pacific—that His Royal Highness has graciously

accepted the Presidency of this Institute. (Cheers.) Whilst I do this, I am sure I am also giving expression to the feeling entertained in Canada and in this room when I refer to the very valuable services which your Grace has rendered to this Institute. (Applause.) I am quite sure that it is your efforts, my Lord Duke—your love for the great cause, and the affectionate labour you have bestowed upon it—that have induced His Royal Highness to accept the Presidency of this Institute. (Hear, hear.) With the knowledge we all have of His Royal Highness's great ability, from his having visited the Colonies personally, and his unvariable willingness to perform the work he undertakes, I have no hesitation to prognosticate a very happy future for this Society. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DENNISTOUN WOOD : Gentlemen (for I must address the meeting at large, and not the Chairman on this occasion), I feel highly honoured in having put into my hands a resolution which I am sure will be received not only unanimously but enthusiastically by all present. I shall proceed to read it :—

"That the cordial thanks of the Fellows be given to His Grace the Duke of Manchester upon his retirement from the Presidency of the Institute, for his long and valuable services; for the uniform courtesy with which he has exercised the duties of his office; and for the lively interest evinced by him in all matters affecting the welfare and progress of the Society.

"That in tendering to His Grace their thanks for his past services, the Fellows desire to add the expression of their satisfaction, that as a Vice-President and Chairman of the Council, the Institute will continue to receive the benefit of his influence and co-operation."

Gentlemen, if the announcement that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had accepted the office of President of this Institute had necessarily involved with it the retirement of His Grace the Duke of Manchester from any active co-operation in the affairs of this Society, I am sure that our feelings of pleasure at the acceptance by His Royal Highness would be tinged with deep regret at the loss of the services of the Duke of Manchester. (Hear, hear.) But I am thankful to say that by the vote which you have unanimously carried this afternoon in electing His Grace as one of the Vice-Presidents, followed up as that vote will be at the very next meeting of Council by the election of His Grace as Chairman of the Council, we shall still continue to receive the invaluable benefit of the services of His Grace. (Hear, hear.) As we all know, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales from his position has many calls upon his attention, and it is in vain to expect that he will be able to take so active a part in the affairs of this Society as His Grace has

hitherto done. (Hear, hear.) The proposal which you have heard, and which has been sanctioned by the rule that has been carried unanimously, is, that whenever the President of this Society is absent, the Chairman of the Council if present shall supply his place; and I trust we shall in the future, as we have in the past, see His Grace discharging the duties, I will not say of President, but of Chairman of the Society, with the same courtesy and urbanity which have hitherto distinguished his tenure of office. (Hear, hear.) We all know that a nobleman in His Grace's position has many other calls upon him which must necessarily occupy a considerable portion of his time. (Hear hear.) He has duties to discharge as a country gentleman and as a member of the hereditary branch of the legislature, in connection with social claims, and in many other ways to which it is not necessary for me to call your attention. But notwithstanding all those other matters which have required His Grace's attention, I speak within the knowledge of you all when I say that His Grace has very seldom indeed been absent from any meeting at which papers have been read. I may add a fact of which only the members of the Council can be cognizant, that on very many occasions His Grace has honoured us by taking the chair at our meetings. (Hear, hear.) I may say also that the interest His Grace takes in the affairs of the Institute has not been confined to discharging duties as President of our meetings or as Chairman of meetings of Council. (Hear, hear.) I can state, and all the members of Council can corroborate me, that His Grace has in many ways brought his private interest to bear in order to conduce to the prosperity of this Institute. (Hear, hear.) And I am quite sure that the position it has assumed and the progress which it has made are in no slight degree owing to the valuable services which His Grace has rendered. (Hear, hear.) If I do not say more, it is not because more could not be said, but because I should only be uttering a truism and saying what all of you already know; and if I conclude, I trust it will not be assumed by anyone that I have not forgotten anything that would be said of His Grace's past services, but I consider it unnecessary to occupy your time longer. (Great cheering.)

Mr. MONTGOMERIE: I shall have great pleasure in seconding this motion, for no one knows better the active part His Grace has taken in the affairs of the Society and how much the success of the Society has been promoted and aided by His Grace's kind consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ABRAHAM HYAMS: I think, sir, that all colonists are most deeply interested in this matter, and I think a resolution of the

kind now before this meeting will be adopted with the greatest enthusiasm. I go further, and say that our Colonies, every one of them, ought to bear their individual testimony in recognition of the support always accorded to their cause by His Grace the Duke of Manchester as President of this Society. I am sure that in the island I came from it is pretty well known that His Grace has very largely contributed in connection with this Institute to promote the best interests of the Colonies in general. I am bound to say from what during my two years in this country I have had opportunities of knowing that as colonists we shall not properly express our Colonial appreciation of His Grace's services if we be satisfied with this one resolution. I hope all our Colonies will feel it a matter of obligation to express to His Grace their indebtedness for the incessant efforts he has made to render them service, particularly, as has been so well said, when such services have been rendered in the midst of enormous duties otherwise connected with the high and exalted position of the Duke of Manchester. When it is remembered, sir, that your Institute takes no interest in party politics, that all the questions which have from time to time been discussed have been of deep general interest to all classes in our Colonies, I am sure I shall not say too much when I express the opinion that your Council will receive from the several Colonies resolutions acknowledging the valuable services of His Grace, and the loss sustained by his retirement from the Presidency, only to be compensated by His Grace's successor being no less than His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

MR. YOUR: With your permission I will now put this resolution, which you have heard read, and I will ask you, instead of recording your assent to it in the usual way, of holding up your hands, that you will stand up.

The meeting immediately responded to Mr. Your's suggestion, and cheered most heartily, upstanding.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: Gentleman, I need not say that I am intensely gratified by the resolution that was proposed by Mr. Dennistoun Wood, and seconded by Mr. Montgomerie, and supported, which is also most gratifying to me, by a person who has not been officially connected with us on the Council and with me as President: I mean Mr. Abraham Hyams. What has been said here you may well suppose has been grateful to my feelings. I will not go through the form of saying it is flattery, but certainly it is very great praise, and I thank you for it. I am delighted to think that I have in any measure deserved what has been said. I certainly have been anxious to do my duty as President of this

Institute. (Hear, hear.) You know that I have long sympathised most warmly with all our Colonies, and with their interest and progress. (Hear, hear.) For myself I am proud of them. I think that the men who have gone abroad to distant lands to support the banner of England and spread the English race in other countries are deserving of the lasting honour of all their fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear.) We honour discoverers of foreign lands, but I think we ought far more to honour those who settle there and win them for the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I trust, now that I am no longer the President of this Institute, it may continue the course which it has so usefully followed while I have had the honour of presiding over it, that it may continue to increase the useful work it has hitherto performed, and may tend still more to do that which it has already done successfully so far, to unite the Colonies with the Empire, to spread an interest in the old country with the Colonies, and that we may some day see a really Imperial army and navy, not recruited merely from the United Kingdom, but formed and supported and governed also, in fair proportions (which would be only just) by the Colonies as well as the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) I am proud to think that during the time that I have held the prominent position from which I now retire with regard to this Institute, that it has grown to such proportions; and I think I can give you a marked instance of the estimation in which this Institute is held. You are well aware that the Prince of Wales cannot of course, at least without consideration, accede to the many requests that are made to him to join or preside over public institutions of different sorts. I am happy to say that in this instance he did so without a moment's hesitation. (Applause.) I will tell you how it happened. I wrote a note to His Royal Highness before going to dine with him as he had commanded one evening. As I came out from the dining-room General Probyn said to me, "It is all right." I asked what he alluded to, when he replied, "It is all right, His Royal Highness consents." (Hear, hear.) Unless he had known the circumstances, position, and reputation of this Society, I am sure he would have taken time to consider whether or not he should have given his consent. (Cheers.) I think nothing can be more flattering to this Society than the readiness and promptitude with which His Royal Highness consented to accept the Presidency. (Hear, hear.) I am also fortunately able to-day to inform you that His Royal Highness will not be a mere ordinary President. (Hear, hear.) I had the honour of meeting His Royal Highness this afternoon, and he led me to expect that he should not be always absent from our meetings.

(Hear, hear.) I am sure that the Presidency and sanction which that Presidency gives to the Institute will be most advantageous to it, and will enable us to do more and greater work than we have hitherto done. (Hear, hear.) I thank you for the kind way in which you have spoken of me. I have been connected with your Institute for some time, and your kindness is so great, and the importance of your object is so equally great, that I cannot decline acceding to your request that I should continue to do what I can in your service. (Loud cheers.)

MR. A. R. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON: The next resolution has been entrusted to me. I am sure that it will meet with satisfaction from you all. You have already heard, and I fancy it is well known without hearing, that the finances of our Institute are not yet so flourishing as to enable us to have any requited Secretary; we are, therefore, more than usually indebted to our Honorary Secretary, to whom this resolution applies. I am sure it will be supported by everybody here. It is to the effect that we should give our cordial thanks to Mr. Frederick Young, so I shall read it:—

"That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Frederick Young, Esq., the Honorary Secretary, for the energy and ability with which he has fulfilled the duties of his office; and for the large measure of time and attention devoted by him to the affairs of the Institute, and the promotion of its interests."

I think, gentlemen, the words of the resolution involves all I need say, especially on the present occasion, when we have met to register the retirement of his Grace the Duke of Manchester from the office he has held for so many years, and the assumption of that office by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Mr. Young will, I am sure, take for granted the few words which I find to convey our thanks on the present occasion. And I shall, therefore, confine myself simply to the words you have heard read, the more so as I am quite sure there are many here present who will second the resolution, and are only waiting to express their sense of the earnest and successful manner in which Mr. Young has laboured for the benefit of the Royal Colonial Institute.

THE REV. A. STYLEMAN HERRING, Vicar of St. Paul's, Clerkenwell: It is with the greatest pleasure I rise to second the motion. When I think from what very small beginnings this glorious movement respecting England, her Colonies, and emigration, originated in modern times, and how a small but enthusiastic committee was formed in Northumberland Street, and then afterwards emigrated to Salisbury Square, where Mr. Young showed so much ability and knowledge of Colonial matters, I say I am heartily delighted with the

great success of the Royal Colonial Institute. We had at first a good many theorists on our committee, but I, perhaps, took up the more practical view of things, and began helping out emigrants, which now number 4,000, planted in our various Colonies. More than one of our early committee-men is an M.P. in our British Parliament, and another is Premier of New Zealand. I am sure Mr. Young has steadily worked hard, and I can but give him my cordial and personal thanks for such self-denying labours. It must have been a difficult task to select the subjects for discussion at our monthly meetings, and I am sure we are all much indebted to our valuable Honorary Secretary and the Council for the admirable subjects we have been entertained with during this last session. I heartily second the motion. (Applause.)

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: Before I put the resolution to you I must be allowed to express the deep obligation which I personally feel to Mr. Young for what he has done. You have praised me too kindly perhaps. Both you and I have congratulated each other on the success which the Society has attained during my Presidency, but that success was in no small degree owing first to poor Mr. Eddy, whose loss we all so deeply lament, and since his demise to the very great exertions and conspicuous ability of Mr. Young. (Hear, hear.) With these few words I will assume your assent to this vote of thanks. (Loud cheers.)

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG (who was received with cheers) said: My Lord Duke and gentlemen—Most heartily I thank you for the generous compliment which you have been good enough to pay me. I really have given up a good deal of time to the important objects which have associated us together in this Institute. (Hear, hear.) But I must call your attention for one moment to the fact, that to-day is a very eventful one in our existence. As the Report stated, we have now been established for ten years. Of that period I have had the honour of holding the post of Honorary Secretary for four years, each of my predecessors having held it for three years. During the whole of that time we have been steadily progressing in doing what I for one consider is a very important work indeed for the whole of the Empire. My heart has been thoroughly in my work, and although I have been obliged to give up a great deal of time, and pay much attention to details connected with it, I assure you most conscientiously I have done so from a profound conviction that I was aiding in advancing the great interests of the whole of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) I feel this quite as much to-day as I ever felt it before; and I can only repeat that while it is extremely gratifying and very encouraging to have the kind and

complimentary expressions which have been used towards me for the exertions and any labour I may have taken upon myself as Honorary Secretary to the Institute, that my services will, as long as I have health and strength, be devoted towards the objects we all have in view. (Hear, hear.) I cannot sit down without alluding to the fact that, in spite of my not having shirked the time and duties attending the office of Honorary Secretary, I have always received the greatest possible assistance from my excellent friend, Mr. Labillière. (Applause.) He is at all times ready to help me in anything in which I require his aid, and his ideas are precisely those which I have myself with regard to what this Institute is capable of performing in connection with the whole Empire; and although he is Australian born, and I was born in England, he feels just the same sympathy as I do myself for the whole of our fellow-countrymen who are beyond the seas. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS proposed the next vote of thanks to Mr. Molineux:—

“That the most cordial vote of thanks be given to Mr. Molineux for his kindness in carrying out the duties of Hon. Treasurer during the absence of Mr. Sargeant.”

I have great pleasure in proposing this resolution, because on one point Mr. Molineux and I are, to a certain extent, enemies. I want to get money out of the Treasury a great deal faster than he is disposed to let it go. That may be a recommendation to some persons. I know a man cannot make bricks without straw, still I think it would be extremely delightful for us to pass a resolution that the Treasurer or Hon. Treasurer should be compelled to honour all cheques drawn upon him. (Laughter.) If you were to do that, we should then be able to do something in respect to one part of the Report, and we should be able to provide more appropriate accommodation for the Institute. Although I know we cannot do it without money, yet the question of getting better accommodation is one which we must see to, and must put money into the Treasurer's pocket for the purpose. Everyone must see that these rooms are utterly unsuited to us at the present time. Indeed, two members from South Australia who joined during the last fortnight, friends of my own—I proposed them—they asked me, “Well, what are you going to do for a fellow if he does join?” What could I say in reply? The only answer I get from them is, “Well, I don't mind joining the Institute and subscribing, but I will not undertake to go there.” That I know is the feeling that prevails amongst many. They do not like these rooms, and I do not wonder at it. I know one member of the Institute in a high position, who said that he did not like to come here because the rooms are not suitable to him. Everyone is saying the same, and

some of them speak of this room as "a pokey hole over a shirt-shop." (Laughter.) No one from the Australian Colonies joining an Institute of this kind would be content to have such a room as this. They would have better rooms. If you went into an institute or into the merchants' rooms or offices out there, you would not find such chairs as these or even such highly ornamental and expensive wall paper. (A laugh.) Nothing of the kind would be found there. I apologise for trespassing on the time of the Institute in a somewhat irregular manner, but as I could not get here before, I thought I would avail myself of the opportunity of proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Molineux, and letting off some of the animosity I have towards him ; and I can only say, I will, the first time I get the chance, endeavour to put my hand into his official pocket. (Laughter.)

Mr. FREELAND : I have great pleasure in seconding that, and if these Australian gentlemen will only put their hands into their pockets we shall meet their views at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : I would remind Mr. Freeland that when a man opens a shop he does not tell the public that "If you will come and deal with me I will obtain good articles." It is his duty to get the articles and keep them ready at hand for the customers when they think fit to come.

The noble CHAIRMAN put the motion, and it was carried.

Mr. MOLINEUX : I shall not detain you at this late hour by making a speech, and will only express my sincere thanks for the kindness and the honour you have shown me in passing this vote. It has really been a pleasure during the absence of Mr. Sargeant to take the duties of Honorary Treasurer upon me, and which will shortly devolve upon him again. I am happy, small as it is, to be able to hand him over a surplus. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the observations of Mr. Strangways, I believe I interpret the sentiments of the whole Council in the wish that the Treasurer should be in possession of such ample funds as would secure the most palatial buildings at the West End for our Institute, but under existing circumstances, prudence is, I think, the proper course to follow. I beg to thank you very sincerely indeed. (Cheers.)

Mr. YOUNG : I may say, in conclusion, that our session and our season is now over. The next thing I hope will be that in the course of three weeks you will receive from me the annual volume, and I think when you are able to turn over its pages you will agree with me that we shall never have published a more valuable or more useful volume of our transactions than the one I shall have the honour of forwarding to you. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting then separated.

Royal Colonial Institute.

RECEIPTS.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.
Balance, as per last Account	4 Life Subscriptions of £20	.....	£80	0 0
2	"	£10 10s.	21	0 0
6	"	£10	60	0 0
"	"	£9	9	0 0
49	Entrance Fees of £3	.....	147	0 0
324	Subscriptions of £2	.....	648	0 0
NH	"	£2 2s.	.....
283	"	£1 1s.	297	3 0
10	"	£1	10	0 0
1	"	£1 6s.	1	5 0
			1273	8 0

12 months' Dividend on £500 Victoria Government 5 per cent. Debentures

(less Income Tax).....
12 months' Dividend on £100 Canada

5 per cent. Debentures (less Income Tax).....

12 months' Dividend on £300 Cape of Good Hope 4½ per cent. Debentures

(less Income Tax).....
12 months' Dividend on £200 South

Australian 4 per cent. Debentures
 (less Income Tax).....

12 months' Dividend on £100 New Zealand 5 per cent. Consols (less Income Tax)

Amount received in connection with the Come Tax)

Proceeds of Sale of Papers, &c.

PAYMENTS.

Salaries	201	13	4
Printing	247	14	6
Reports of Meetings sent to Fellows	53	7	7
Reporting Meetings.....	36	15	0
Stationery, Maps, Books, &c.....	52	4	7
Advertising Meetings, Newspapers, &c.....	71	10	2
Furniture, &c.....	36	7	0
Rent, &c., No. 19, Strand, to 26th March, 1878	231	10	0
Amount handed over to Honorary Secretary to meet disbursements made by him	180	0	0
Amount handed over to Museum Committee in aid of Expenses	6	16	0
Contributions to Guest Dinner Fund	17	0	0
Refreshments supplied at Conversazioni	£81	5	0
Floral Decorations at Conversazioni	29	7	0
Attendance of Band at Conversazioni	31	10	0
Use of South Kensington Museum, and attendance at Conversazione	28	2	6
Printing connected with Conversazione ..	8	11	6
Gratuity.....	178	16	0
Incidental	16	0	0
Subscriptions paid in error refunded	1	19	0
.....	2	2	0
Balance in hand	1,332	15	2
.....	601	16	6

Balance in hand

SECRET

Securities Held.

Victoria Government 5 per cent. Debentures	£500
Canada	
" "	100
Cape of Good Hope 4½ per cent.	300
South Australian 4 per cent.	200
" "	200
New Zealand 5 per cent. Consols.	100

£1,200

Examined and found correct.

**W. WESTGARTH, }
J. D. THOMSON, }** *Auditors.*

G. MOLINEUX,

*Pro Honorary Treasurer,
June 12th, 1878*

June 18th, 1878.

ANALYSIS OF THE HONORARY SECRETARY'S DISBURSEMENTS FROM 12TH JUNE, 1877, TO 11TH JUNE, 1878.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	CLASSIFICATION.	PARTICULARS OF DISBURSEMENTS, &c.	£	s.	d.
Balance as per last account	3	11	7	(1) Domestic	{ Housekeeper for care of Rooms and Cleaning; Fuel, Towels, &c.	36	0	8
Cash received from Honorary Treasurer to meet Dis- bursements.....	180	0	0	(2) Furniture and Books.....	{ Furniture for Rooms, and Repairs, and Books purchased.....	4	10	1
				(3) Postages	Postages.....	86	13	7
				(4) Miscellaneous	Expenses of Meetings.....	47	10	3
					Balance in hand.....	174	14	7
						8	17	0
						£183	11	7

Examined and found correct,
W. WESTGARTH,
J. D. THOMSON, } *Auditors.*

15, Strand, June 18th, 1878.

FREDERICK YOUNG,
Honorary Secretary,
June 12th, 1878.

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